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The Week

THE House of Representatives this week voted to set the Philippines free. The Hare bill, which was adopted by the overwhelming vote of 306 to 47, provides that the Filipinos shall set up a constitution and government of their own, and that the United States shall withdraw at the end of eight years. The action of the House is not likely to have any immediate practical results; the Senate, if it votes in favor of independence, will probably adopt a markedly different bill, setting the time limit at fifteen years. Even if the two Houses agree before the end of the session, President Hoover will probably veto the measure, and there is little chance that the necessary two-thirds can be mustered in both Houses in its favor. Nevertheless, the vote is a significant one, and justifies the hope that in the fairly near future, the

THE chief voice heard in opposition to the Hare bill was that of Secretary Stimson. With his consent, a letter was made public which he wrote to Senator Bingham of Connecticut on February 15 and in which he strongly urged that the Philippines should not be set free at this time. He argued, first, that Philippine development has resulted from "American leadership and guidance"; second, that the Philippines are dependent upon "the material assistance of a free market with the United States"; third, that to set the archipelago free would have a baleful effect upon "the moral prestige and material influence of the United States in the Far East"; fourth, that it would destroy "the political equilibrium throughout the area of the western Pacific and eastern Asia"; and finally, that these arguments apply with tenfold force "at the present moment, when the state of affairs in the Far East is chaotic; when every element of stability is threatened and when out of the Orient may again come one of those historical movements which will disturb the whole earth." Mr. Stimson wrote not only as Secretary of State, but as a former Governor General of the Philippines, and his words are entitled to the gravest consideration. Nevertheless, we still believe that the arguments in favor of Philippine independence outweigh those against it, despite the inadequacies of the Hare bill, the haste with which it was passed, and the commercial motives animating many of its supporters.

SECRETARY Stimson says he is not arguing for a continuance of the present position in the Philippines, and suggests that a satisfactory compromise might be worked out in the indefinite future. But we know by long experience that no subject people is ever deemed ready for self-government by its alien rulers; and we also know that those who are ruled are stubbornly bent on achieving, not "a satisfactory compromise," but simple and utter freedom. As for his arguments in detail, there is no reason why Americans should not remain in the Philippines as advisers. There is equally no decent reason why the archipelago should be put outside the American tariff system. Regarding our

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equilibrium in that region, of which Secretary Stimson speaks, is already pretty well destroyed; and like the equilibrium in Europe before 1914, it is a dangerous and artificial thing. It is quite true that the Orient is on fire today; but how can anyone argue that we can help destroy Japanese imperialism by demonstrating our own continuing imperialistic policy in the same area? The very conditions in China and India which Secretary Stimson cites seem to us a proof that the old game is up, and that his thinking is about thirty years out of date. In sum, all that he says comes under the heading of excuses, not reasons. If the United States really wanted to do so, it could accept a mandate over the Philippines through the League of Nations, or set up equivalent machinery of its own, which would cause other Powers to keep hands off. We believe that some, at least, of the Representatives who voted for the Hare bill did so because they felt that their action was in accordance with historical American principles which are now all but forgotten.

AMERICAN papers are commenting, with a somewhat supercilious air, on the fact that the great new Soviet automobile plant at Nizhni-Novgorod has had to be shut down, because the Russians have not yet learned the art of factory mass production. So far as we know, no editor has commented in the same connection on the fact that many square miles of automobile plants in the United States have long been shut down because we have not learned the art of providing the workers with enough purchasing power to buy their potential product. Yet just a few days before, the papers, following a hint from President Hoover, featured moral exhortations to buy new automobiles in order to end the depression. We can see no cause in all this for gloating on the part of Americans. Soviet Russia is suffering, as expert commentators on her plans have long predicted that she would suffer, from lack of skilled workers and lack of experience in the organization of production. To conquer this difficulty will take time, but there is no doubt that the Soviet authorities are realistically facing their problem and that it can be, and will be, solved. On the other hand, we are ignominiously forced to confess not only that we cannot make use of the wealth we know so well how to create, but that our authorities are not realistically facing the problem, and are not doing anything about it, except emitting clouds of unsubstantial vapor. What sort of mind can a man have who supposes that the rank and file in the United States can at this moment buy as many cars as in previous years, and need only moral persuasion to do it?

GOVERNOR Roosevelt of New York State is a wise receive. It is fair to say that his recent interchange of letters with Dr. John Haynes Holmes and Rabbi Stephen S. Wise shows him in a more unfavorable light than anything else since he has been Governor. Dr. Holmes and Rabbi Wise wrote to him in their official capacity as chairman and vice-chairman of the City Affairs Committee of New York, asking him to use the influence of his office to aid in the removal from their official positions of two men. One of them is John Theofel, clerk of the Surrogate of Queens County, Democratic boss of that territory, and a man who, according to his own sworn testimony before the Hofstadter Legislative Investigating Committee, had been implicated in various ill smelling transactions. The other is Sheriff James A. McQuade of Kings County, one of Tammany's "tin box brigade." Everyone in New York with a grain of common sense knows that neither of these men is fit to hold public office. The City Affairs Committee only did its obvious duty in calling for the aid of Governor Roosevelt in deposing them.

BUT the Governor is a candidate for high office. He needs, or thinks he needs, the assistance of Tammany in order to win the Democratic nomination. Therefore he will do nothing to alienate the New York Democratic organization. In this predicament he has resorted, consciously or unconsciously, to the most extraordinary mental gymnastics in the endeavor to put the best possible face upon his action. He pretends that Holmes and Wise suggested that Theofel should be removed without a hearing, and holds up his hands in horror at this dreadful suggestion. He misstates the chronological facts regarding McQuade's election and the revelations regarding him, and puts the whole burden on the voters who, he incorrectly suggests, knew all about McQuade's record when they elected him. (McQuade was nominated on August 7 and chosen in the primaries September 15, while his revelations before the Hofstadter Committee did not come until October 7. The Democratic nomination in Kings County is of course equivalent to election.) He scolds his correspondents, without justification, for being untrue to historic American principles. All in all, the Governor's statement is a sorry spectacle of a man of unquestioned personal integrity trying to make the best of his odorous political connections. It is not surprising that the City Affairs Committee should have replied, "the Tammany brand is as clear on [your] record as the stripes of a tiger." And the Committee adds:

> We have refrained from reference or reply to the graceless innuendoes, the covert sneers, the gratuitous personal advice, contained in your letter. Apparently we have aroused you from the silence of all these months, and even years, over the shameful political conditions in New York, only to move you to wrath

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> indulge in personal abuse of these officers is beside the point, save as evidence of your demoralization in the face of challenge to public leadership.

DURING the Great War, Columbia University had a shockingly bad reputation for its suppression of academic freedom. Apparently, the officials of the University were sobered by the denunications their course produced, for Columbia has been conspicuously free from the end of the War until very recently. Now, however, old habits are once more prevailing. Reed Harris, undergraduate editor of The Spectator, has been summarily dismissed from the University because of material which has appeared in that publication. Mr. Harris had criticized the "semi-professionalism" of Columbia athletics. He had complained about the treatment of student waiters in the college dining rooms. He had ventured into the realm of public affairs and written on the antics of the D. A. R., the American Legion, and conditions in Kentucky. After resigning from the Nacoms, he had criticized this secret society, which has many powerful alumni among its former members. Mr. Harris states that he was given only a "mock hearing," his case having been prejudged and an adverse verdict rendered. Dean Herbert E. Hawkes, of Columbia College, has certainly made the matter no better by his amazing statement regarding the case. Said the Dean:

> Material published in The Columbia Spectator during the past few days is a climax to a long series of discourtesies, innuendoes and misrepresentations which have appeared in this paper during the current academic year, and calls for disciplinary action.

It calls for no such thing, Dean Hawkes. It calls for a little common sense and sense of humor on the part of college administrators. It calls for a realization that if what Harris wrote was false, it could be answered, and that if it was true, he performed a public service by writing it. We have no tears to shed for young Mr. Harris. He is getting educated far more rapidly and efficiently than anyone could have expected. We do regret, however, that one of our leading educational institutions should have shown itself as impervious to the principles of free speech as any little Baptist college in the country.

MR. Paul Blanshard, executive director of the City Affairs Committee of New York, last week abandoned the role of aloof and academic critic and went in for direct action, with a success so prompt and complete that it must have astonished him. Mr. Blanshard, who is a stockholder of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company, attended the annual meeting of that organization and made a vigorous verbal protest against a policy of one of its subsidiaries, the New York Telephone Company. This company has, in the past three years, spent $233,000 for various charitable purposes, including donations of about $130,000 for unemployment relief. Mr. Blanshard would be the last person to object to this, but he does object to the fact that all these expenditures are charged by the Telephone Company into operating cost, from which are calculated the rates to be charged to subscribers. In other words, while the officials of the Telephone Company have been preening themselves in public as fine fellows for giving all this money to charity, actually they haven't given a nickel of it; it is the unhappy subscriber who will have to pay and pay and pay. Mr. Blanshard reasonably suggested that such contributions ought to come out of surplus, which in the year 1931 amounted to $58,000,000. It is difficult to make any logical reply to Mr. Blanshard's point, and President Walter S. Gifford attempted none, merely suggesting that if the stockholders did not like the way the directors were running the business, they could fire the directors. Since the stockholders, excepting Mr. Blanshard, are mainly concerned with making as much money as possible, it is safe to say they will never complain about gouging the subscriber a little more deeply.

WHAT looked like an astonishing repercussion to Mr. Blanshard's speech came, within twenty-four hours, from the offices of the New York State Public Service Commission in Albany. Just one day later, the Commission made a ruling sustaining Mr. Blanshard's contention 100 percent, and ordering the New York Telephone Company to charge all charitable contributions in future against surplus, and not against operating expense. We wish we could report that the decision of the Commission was the result of Mr. Blanshard's impassioned oratory, but accuracy compels us to admit that this is not the case. The chairman of the Public Service Commission, Mr. Milo R. Maltbie, had been trying for some time to get the New York Telephone Company to adopt voluntarily the proposal embodied in the order. The telephone company had defied the Public Service Commission on the ground that the federal Interstate Commerce Commission had made a ruling which permitted the action it had taken. The company's representatives made this plea with a straight face, although nearly all of its business is done inside New York State, and is therefore not subject to regulation by the I. C. C.

FOLLOWING the disastrous defeat of the textile workers' strike in Lawrence, Massachusetts, the Labor Research Association has been making a field investigation there. Recently it issued a report which proves conditions to have become progressively worse since the strike ended last October. Although ten to fifteen dollars a week was all that a skilled textile worker averaged during the year 1931, speed-up methods, a slackened production and wage cuts ranging from 10 to 30 percent will in all likelihood make the average income for the present year even lower than it was in 1931. The report states that thousands of workers have not found any employment since the strike ended, that

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in debt but are on the verge of starvation, and that conditions at the present time are probably even worse than they were several months ago when the investigation was made. The report says, "It is clear that the mill owners had united in the effort to pull their businesses through the crisis by more inhuman toil on the part of the wage earners," and it concludes by quoting conservative labor officials in Lawrence, who announce that "we are living in this city on a human volcano that may erupt and plunge the city into another strike."

THE Masters of America should not overlook the chance to encourage the type of unemployed morale displayed in a recent series of articles, signed "A Depression Wife," printed by The New York World-Telegram. Though the writer's husband, a white-collar man, has searched fruitlessly for work for months; though the ridgepole of their domestic structure must shortly give way entirely from the weight of mortgage, insurance, light, heat and other inescapable charges; though the family clothes are worn to the final screen of threads—despite all this, the author declares brightly that "We are starving and like it," and that "We are waiting for the summer in the hope that people will be allowed to walk the streets barefoot." Each dawn, the lady recounts, the little family arises with new hope, new cheer, to the scant depression breakfast, and each night goes to bed with the proud consciousness of having uttered no word of destructive criticism. Nothing but good words and bright thoughts. Just a good old living philosophy of Smilin' Through. In one of his books, Anatole France described a periodical gathering of village elders the purpose of which was to bestow awards upon "maid servants who worked without receiving wages," and to commend "those old men who, having no bread to eat, did not ask for any." Surely our own elders are passing up a bet if they fail to recognize, *pro bono publico,* "A Depression Wife's" demonstration of how to starve with a smile.

IT BEGINS to look as though some of those visionary individuals who have long been arguing for housing and slum rehabilitation may yet be put to work. For the housing question has suddenly jumped into that small list of public matters which every editor knows that all his readers think they ought to want to hear about. In terms of agate lines at least, housing has become a movement. The current issues of seven highly diverse national publications devote important space to the planning, technology and architecture of low-cost dwellings—dwellings which, they all admit, cannot be constructed by present speculative methods or with the present set-up of the building industry. When The Architectural Record, The Architectural Forum, Building Investment, The Survey Graphic, The Arts Weekly and the catalogue of the Museum of Modern Art (not to mention recent issues of The Saturday Evening Post, The New Republic, The American City and The Engineering News Record) all light on the same subject at the same time, and, what's more, treat it almost from an identical point of view, one is surely not unreasonable in hoping for action.

WRITERS on housing in these periodicals range from millionaire contractors to poets. Articles cover such matters as housing the other half, check-lists of community-housing procedure, case histories of our brief but valuable war-housing experience, social surveys, housing-finance possibilities, cost analyses of various types of dwellings, scientific research into entirely new dwelling forms, "the new market," skyscraper methods for small houses, the chaos of the building trades ("the only industry which buys its essential raw material at retail"), and so on. All of which is refreshingly different from the periodicals' erstwhile country-mansion and skyscraper-of-the-future approach to the problem of human environment. But the most interesting fact is that almost all of these articles start from the same set of facts, namely, that two-thirds of the population lives in substandard homes, while the building industry is in the worst slump ever. Old methods won't produce new houses. Old methods never did produce good houses, anyway. Change the methods. Find new means of financing and control, new standards of architecture and human welfare, new materials and methods of construction. Long-time planning, large-scale construction, mass-production methods, the elimination of speculation, state or municipal aid—these are the chief points in the program of the new American housing movement.

Repeal Is Possible

THERE is now no doubt that the prohibitionists are more gravely alarmed than at any other time since the Eighteenth Amendment was put into effect. They find themselves faced by a rising tide of anti-prohibition sentiment which they are at last forced to take seriously. The recent vote in the House of Representatives showed a remarkable increase in the strength of the Wets, even in that body where so many members drink one way and vote the other. There now seems very little likelihood that a Democratic candidate will be chosen who is even faint-heartedly in favor of prohibition; and it is notorious that Republican politicians regard the theoretical Dryness of their party and their candidate as a serious handicap. Perhaps most disturbing of all is the Literary Digest straw vote, in which 20,000,000 persons will be polled, of whom the first three and a half million to record their views have shown a majority for repeal of about three to one. The Drys, of course, are attacking this poll, as they have done every previous referendum, whether official or private; but their actions indicate that they are taking

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it more seriously than they are willing to admit. Indeed, Dr. Clarence True Wilson, general secretary of the Methodist Board of Temperance, Prohibition and Public Morals, is actually talking now about the possibility of an official nationwide referendum. Needless to say, he would greatly prefer that none should take place; but he fears that the alternative to a referendum is repeal without it. Dr. Wilson tries to justify himself by complaining that the Wets have nothing constructive to offer by way of regulation if prohibition were repealed; but every newspaper reader knows that this is false. All the most important organized Wet groups are willing to see a return to state option, with any amount of regulatory or prohibitory legislation that each state may desire.

In so far as the debate at present turns upon the Literary Digest poll, it should be enormously forwarded by the article which we publish in this issue from the pen of Mr. Claude E. Robinson of Columbia University. Mr. Robinson is a carefully trained student of social questions, who has been for several years engaged in a study of straw votes, in preparation for a forthcoming book on this subject. In analyzing the Literary Digest vote he has had the fullest coöperation of the editors of that magazine, who have furnished him with information not available to anyone else. His study is by all odds the most comprehensive and critical which has yet been made. It is true that his conclusions considerably deflate the simple numerical returns, which show that only the state of Kansas continues to vote Dry, and that by the slenderest possible margin. Nevertheless, after applying all his tests, Mr. Robinson arrives at the conclusion (highly tentative, to be sure) that with the largest reasonable correction for error, there are still thirty-two states today where a majority of the citizens are opposed to prohibition. If this statement is correct, the addition of only five more states would ensure the repeal of the Amendment, and as things are now going, the addition of five states should take only a few years.

There is a psychological factor of importance in the struggle at the present time. Twenty years ago, it was the prohibition forces which were active and aggressive, while their foes were inert. Today the roles are reversed. At some time between 1920 and 1932, the initiative passed from the Drys to the Wets. We know by long experience in the United States that it is usually not the majority which rules, but the most aggressive and vocal of the minorities. The Wets are now in that position, being tremendously aided by the depression. At this moment when the prohibitionists can no longer argue that they gave the country an infallible formula for prosperity, the possibility of government revenue from taxes on liquor was never more alluring.

Looking back, it is astonishing to see how completely the landscape has changed on the prohibi-

The New Republic stated, a year or so ago, that repeal was now for the first time a political possibility, the statement was received with rather general incredulity. Today, everyone except the most unreasoning fanatic admits that this is true. Repeal is not only possible; as things are now going, it seems inevitable. When it comes, we can return to an ideal which nowadays is all but forgotten: that of temperance, self-control, sobriety.

The Japanese Boycott Again

THE COMMUNICATION from our highly esteemed contributor, Mr. H. N. Brailsford, in favor of an anti-Japanese boycott, printed on page 237 of this issue, is one of the ablest presentations of the case which has come to our attention, and it deserves a reply from anyone who disagrees.

He begins persuasively by tracing the trans-Atlantic difference of opinion, between those of like minds on other subjects, to the opposite attitudes of their customary domestic opponents. In Great Britain and Europe the imperialists are inclined to be moderate because they are pro-Japanese; hence the Laborites are for uncompromising League action. But in the United States "the sinister and imperialistic forces are by a contrary accident ranged against Japan. We both take color from our environment." Mr. Brailsford mistakes the American line-up on this issue. The extreme navalists, we suppose, may be itching for a war against Japan, as they do against any conceivable enemy when the slightest excuse arises, but there is certainly no solidarity of self-seeking or reactionary forces on that side of the line. Many of our journalistic jingoes are even hostile to the boycott proposal. Certainly we have powerful "international bankers" and the like who are far more closely tied up with Japan than with China. The agitation for the boycott in this country arises almost entirely from ardent and idealistic supporters of the League of Nations, who have no material interest to serve.

The New Republic's analogy between the proposed international punishment of Japan and the "war to end war" of 1914-1918 he rejects, because in the former case, under the veil of ideals, the several Powers were seeking selfish advantage by fighting, whereas in this case the Powers have nothing to gain by stopping Japan. Now "action is the disinterested course," and therefore action should be taken. But surely this sort of logic does not accord with the philosophy of one who has, from the Socialist point of view, made so many keen analyses of the forces which move society. Are we to understand that Mr. Brailsford adheres to a League of Nations organized to enforce peace, which may be expected to act out of purely disinterested motives? Does he believe that such

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of the world? If that is proposed as our main reliance in the curbing of aggressor states, it is a more dangerous delusion than we had thought. Perhaps it is as well that this conception of the League should be exploded by the Japanese crisis.

The real difference of background which leads to the disagreement on this issue between Mr. Brailsford and ourselves lies just here, in The New Republic's attitude toward the League. Mr. Brailsford and his associates have all along accepted the League conception of "security" much as the French define it; they have at times even wanted to give the League more "teeth" than those with which the Covenant provides it. Disarmament, he says, depends upon assurance that the associated states will help an innocent and attacked state. If the League fails in the Far Eastern issue, there will be no trust in the "security" the Covenant promises and hence no possibility of anything but an armed world and future war.

But The New Republic has never, from the beginning, accepted the League at its face value. It never expected existing governments to act on the basis of wholly disinterested motives. On the contrary, it has feared that the "security" aspect of the League would be employed by powerful states to preserve the status created by the Treaty of Versailles against desirable and necessary modifications. Is it pure accident that France, which from the first has been, in theory, the chief advocate of rigid interpretation and extension of the doctrine of sanctions, has also been the chief stumbling block to European readjustment and disarmament? She has, in our opinion—and we have expressed this opinion many times in our pages—used the idealism surrounding the League doctrine of sanctions to veil her contemporary imperialistic policy in Europe, much as she used the antecedent Wilsonian idealism to veil her imperialism during the War. We have long feared that if ever sanctions were to be invoked, they would be invoked to justify another war for power and advantage. It now appears that sanctions are not invoked when there is no advantage to be gained. This does not surprise or shock those who had never trusted the sanctions principle. On the contrary, we hope that it will serve to turn sincere advocates of peace to other measures.

Nor are we so hopeless as Mr. Brailsford that other measures can be found. In the particular instance, we have more confidence than he both in the policy of non-recognition of Japan's conquests and in the prediction that Japan is courting her own punishment. This confidence is based, not on an idealistic trust in an unimplemented power of the "public opinion of the world," but on hard-boiled reading of economic and social forces. We do not see how anyone can study such a careful analysis as is contained, for instance, in Dr. Harold G. Moulton's "Japan" without coming to the

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has never had it, except for the extraordinary period of the World War, and she is not likely soon to develop it. It is difficult to imagine that she can go far to exploit Manchuria in her own interest without enlisting investment funds for this purpose from Europe or the United States. But a Manchuria precariously held against a hostile native population and potential interference from China or Russia or both, a Manchuria whose de-facto government is not recognized by any other power, will not be an attractive field for investment. Nor is it possible to conceive that Japan can continue on the expensive course of aggression and imperialism without impoverishing her own population and running into grave danger, not merely for her business interests, but for her ruling military classes.

It is true that in the meantime her victims will suffer; but it is impossible to prevent the killing or subjugation of Chinese and Manchurians for the time being by adding the killing of still more Chinese, Japanese, Americans, Englishmen and others, which would result from a world war. The feud between China and Japan is not new, it is not now being created. It cannot be ended by forcible intervention; it can merely be widened in scope to include the interveners.

The fact that Japan cannot follow the course of imperialism without courting ultimate disaster does not arise from the existence of a broad poetic justice, from a divinely ordered world. Nor is it a lucky chance. It rests on a general condition which is, as we see it, the only real basis on which a peaceful world can ever be built. In a highly industrialized society, no nation can follow a policy of war and exploitation without ultimate injury to its own people. The need for peace rests solidly on the interest of the majority everywhere; if this were not so, the peace movement would be merely an insubstantial crusade. The real business of the League of Nations is, not to organize and apply a machinery of punishment against immoral aggressor states, but to organize the basic interests of all peoples in the resolution of conflicts which threaten war, before they become acute. It may be that capitalistic states embodying the tradition of nationalism cannot coöperate to express the real interests of their populations in peaceful solutions of these conflicts. If so, the League cannot be effective. To pretend that it can act as policeman to suppress conflicts which it is not capable of resolving peaceably is, in that case, to gloss over its fundamental weakness. The task becomes, rather, to concentrate on changing the internal organization of the participatory states so that the real interests of their peoples may find expression.

Mr. Brailsford ends by admitting that a boycott may lead to war. We think he underestimates the danger; we should be astonished if a successful boycott did not necessitate war. He contends that

morally detestable because it is, in its essence, the effort of a government to use constraint, for its own ends, against another." If, on the other hand, the whole civilized world, after a hearing, decides to use constraint for the general good, "according to a procedure which the wrongdoer himself accepted in advance," Mr. Brailsford argues that we could call the result war only by abuse of language. We submit that war by any other name is equally detestable. We submit that the case against it does not rest upon its assumed purposes. We do not believe in organized mass killing and destruction, whether for the good of the victim or for the good of the world. We submit that war cannot be ended by war in 1932 any more than it could be so ended in 1914.

Power Trust Morals

AS READERS of The New Republic are well aware, the Electric Bond and Share Company is one of the strongest groups in the American public-utility field. Stephen Raushenbush, in his book on "The Power Fight," just published, estimates that it controls 12 percent of the nation's power resources, and that its assets are about two and a half billion dollars. It owns an important amount of stock in dozens of subsidiary companies throughout the United States. Therefore, the ethical standards displayed by its officers are certainly a matter of public interest and concern.

These ethical standards have recently been shown in a somewhat peculiar light, through the narration of a bit of history. It is told by Bernard J. Rothwell, president of the Bay State Milling Company and former president of the Boston Chamber of Commerce, in the columns of The Boston Transcript—a respectably conservative witness, employing a forum of the same character. According to Mr. Rothwell, in the halcyon days of the great bull market—namely, midsummer of 1929—it was decided to permit a group of important officials and employees of the Electric Bond and Share Company to buy some of the company's common stock. More than 480,000 shares were thus distributed, at a price of $40 a share. Ten percent of the purchase price was to be paid in cash, the balance over a period of seven and a half years. The interesting thing about this transaction is that at the time this same stock was selling in the open market at $129 to $148 a share (it subsequently went much higher). Two days after the transaction referred to, other individuals, already stockholders in the company but not members of the favored inside group, were offered as a great privilege a chance to participate in a new issue of stock at $85 a share. Incidentally, of this new issue, 55,000 shares were given outright and for no discoverable reason to the insiders who had just been favored by the chance to buy nearly half a million

perhaps not surprising that these insiders, who saved nearly $50,000,000 on the first of these transactions, pledged themselves, as Mr. Rothwell says, "to absolute secrecy and never to ask for or divulge any information in regard to the transaction or their connection with it."

Shocking as this story is, the next chapter is even worse. The bull market came to an end and the stock of the Electric Bond and Share Company fell far below even the $40 which the insiders had paid for it. Therefore, a special meeting of the stockholders was held in December, 1931, and their pitiable plight was put forward. It was, as a matter of fact, far less pitiable than that of many other stockholders who had not been favored by the chance to buy securities at one-third of the market price; but this fact was offset by the erroneous impression, which Mr. Rothwell says was circulated at this meeting, that the holders of the stock were poor people—wage-earning employees of the company. Accordingly, incredible as it may seem, at this special meeting of the stockholders the *whole original transaction was canceled.* Not only were these inside speculators given back their money, but they were paid 6-percent interest on it for the entire period. The immediate loss is estimated by Mr. Rothwell at $17,000,000, but this is of course only a small part of the actual loss on the whole transaction. If the stock had been sold to the public in 1929 at the market price, instead of going to the insiders at $40, the company's exchequer would be about $91,000,000 better off today.

To comment at length on this transaction seems superfluous. So far as can be learned, the whole thing was legal; but what shall be said of the conduct of the company's officials who, under the strictest pledge of secrecy, voted to themselves and their friends nearly $50,000,000 which in effect came out of the company treasury? Mr. Rothwell says that despite "the meticulous attention to legality," the justification of the transaction "from the standpoint either of strong business judgment or of ethics is another question." Mr. Rothwell is certainly a candidate for the Pulitzer Prize of 1931 for understatement.

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That Great "Wet Landslide"

A Critical Inquiry into the Literary Digest Poll

THE LITERARY DIGEST has now released the seventh report on its nationwide referendum on the Eighteenth Amendment. The returns show popular majorities for repeal in forty-seven of the forty-eight states. While the count is not yet complete, the division of the vote between enforcement and repeal has reached a high degree of stabilization and future tabulations are likely to show little change. If the wishes of the electorate are accurately reflected in the Literary Digest poll, the Eighteenth Amendment is shortly doomed, for the opposition to its continuance is so overwhelming that it cannot be long until this sentiment will be translated into law. This, however, is a grave conclusion which cannot safely be drawn by either the Wets or the Drys until the reliability of the straw referendum is established. Are the Literary Digest returns an accurate reflection of public opinion on the issue of repeal?

According to the principles of statistical sampling, if the preference of every tenth voter, say, were canvassed on the question of repealing the Eighteenth Amendment, the returns would give approximately the same division of votes between enforcement and repeal as an inclusive canvass of every citizen in the electorate. How well does the Literary Digest poll measure up to this standard? As a basis for the answer to this question, let us see how The Digest went about collecting its straw ballots.

For many years the Funk and Wagnalls Company, publisher of The Literary Digest, has marketed its publications by means of mail. For this distributive operation, a huge mailing list, now numbering upward of 20,000,000 names and addresses, has been compiled. When printed material is ready to be sold, this list is circularized with announcements and offers. The chief sources from which these names are drawn are two: telephone directories and automobile-registration files. A large staff of clerks is employed to edit the list, verify addresses and cull out duplicate names.

When The Literary Digest takes a nationwide poll it sends a straw ballot, together with a special subscription offer, to each person who is included in this vast compendium. As a basis for any discussion of the Literary Digest poll, therefore, it must be realized that (a) qualification for participation in the referendum is not one of age, citizenship and enrolment as it is in a legal election, but one of ownership of an automobile or telephone, and that (b) actual participation depends upon willingness [illegible] and mail a straw ballot. [illegible] people, whose addresses are easy to obtain, have been given five times the representation of country

ship of automobiles and telephones, a sample from the "tel-auto" population is a good cross section of the whole electorate, but this cannot be taken for granted. Let us examine the seven principal circumstances that might cause the Digest returns to misrepresent prohibition sentiment in the large.

1. Does The Literary Digest honestly count and report the ballots it receives? The answer is "yes" without a shadow of doubt. Many Dry critics have looked with suspicion upon the magazine's expenditure of close to a million dollars on a single prohibition poll, and, associating this fact with the Wet complexion of the returns, have come to the conclusion that The Digest is against prohibition. But there is not a grain of truth in this conjecture. The Literary Digest is willing to spend a fortune polling the nation because it is good business to do so. Its straw polls stimulate tremendous interest throughout the country and swell the subscription list more than enough to pay the cost. If anything, The Literary Digest leans over backward in guaranteeing the honesty of its count.

2. Are the returns affected by repeating and by wholesale conspiracies to stuff the ballot box? Many charges are made that Mr. Jones, a Wet, or maybe he is a Dry, received two cards and voted both, or that partisans to the liquor controversy gathered cards from friends and voted these ballots in batches. No doubt some of these charges are well founded. In a referendum which involves the distribution of 20,000,000 ballots to a public greatly wrought up on the issue involved, it would be strange indeed if some enthusiasts did not vote as often as possible. Even in legal elections this would be true. But there are limits to which such duplication can be carried. A repeater would need to canvass diligently among his friends to find a dozen cards for his stuffing operations. As for wholesale counterfeiting, The Literary Digest has taken pains to have its ballots printed on a special cardboard which is limited in supply, and which contains an inner ply of color for ready identification. Moreover, the magazine, as noted previously, culls out duplicates from its mailing list and also scrutinizes incoming cards to detect and discard spurious votes.

3. Does The Literary Digest maintain a fair balance between the rural and urban population in the distribution of its ballots? Readers of The New Republic will recall Mr. Upton Sinclair's charge against the 1930 prohibition poll "that city

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(August 13, 1930). Since Dry strength is heavily drawn from rural sections, the Digest returns, Mr. Sinclair concluded, unduly favor the Wets. Experimental evidence which is too detailed to cite here shows that the balance is fair.

4. Are the preferences of women fairly represented in the Literary Digest sample? In 1922 The Digest stated that 90 percent of the names taken from telephone directories were those of men. No statement has been made as to the sex composition of the automobile list, but it can be assumed that the sex ratio is about the same. The effective electorate is about 60-percent male and 40-percent female; hence, in the distribution of cards, the men are favored out of proportion to their true influence in the legal vote. Since the women tend to vote Drier than the men, it must be granted that this circumstance operates in the Digest returns to favor the Wets.

5. Is the labor vote, which is thought to be more Wet than Dry, included in the distribution of the ballots? The answer, of course, is that only those laboring men who own a telephone or an automobile are given an opportunity to participate in the referendum. This means that people in this class are not represented in the Digest sample in proportion to their influence in the electorate. If men of small means are predominantly Wet, then it must be admitted that this factor contributes a Dry prejudice to the Digest returns.

6. Were the Drys as willing to mark and return their ballots as the Wets? It is yet too early to make a final appraisal of this point for the 1932 poll, but the number of ballots distributed and the number returned in the current straw vote appear to be about the same as in the 1930 referendum, hence this earlier experience should be helpful in evaluating the present poll.

Since the point is extremely important, the reader will, no doubt, permit a reference to statistics. In Column 1 of the table below, the forty-eight states are ranked by groups of twelve according to degree of Wetness as shown by the proportion of people who voted for repeal in the 1930 poll. In Column 2 the average response, *i.e.*, the number of ballots returned for every one hundred distributed, is given for the 1928 presidential poll, in which Wet and Dry enthusiasms were absent, or, at least, not primarily operative. Column 3 gives the average response for the 1930 prohibition poll, in which these enthusiasms were presumably active; and Column 4 gives the increase of response in the 1930 prohibition poll over that in the 1928 presidential poll.

Col. 1	Col. 2	Col. 3	Col. 4
Wet Ranking	Response	Response	Increase in Response, 1930 over
Group 1	1928	1930	1928
(Greatest Repeal Vote)....	14	30	16
Group 2.....	13	25	12
Group 3	13	23	10

Now it will be observed that in 1928 (Col. 2), when the Wet and Dry issue was not primarily at stake in the balloting, the several groups of states returned about the same proportion of cards, but in 1930 (Col. 3), when the prohibition question was placed in the balance, the Wet states returned the largest proportion of their cards and the Dry states the least proportion. Or, putting it in other terms, with 1928 response as the norm, the increase in response in 1930 (Col. 4) was greatest in the Wet states and became progressively less as it moved down on the Wet scale. This is good evidence that the Wets returned a greater proportion of their ballots than the Drys.

7. Is not the number of ballots collected by The Literary Digest (about 6 percent of the adult population) too small a sample to be reliable? The answer is "no," and the proof is that the mounting totals reported each week show practically no changes in the division of the vote between the Wet and Dry camps.

In this review of the seven factors that might have caused the Literary Digest poll to reflect prohibition sentiment incorrectly, all but three have been eliminated as significant sources of sampling distortion. Of these it was found that the Drys were favored by the non-participation of people of small means; and that the Wets were favored by the male bias of the mailing list, and by the heightened responsiveness of the repeal voters. It would be desirable to evaluate the precise effect that each of these factors had on the straw returns, but the data are not available for this analytical refinement. The fact, however, that two biases favored the Wets, particularly that of heightened responsiveness, whereas but one bias favored the Drys, suggests that the Literary Digest returns overemphasize sentiment for repeal.

This conclusion is strengthened by a comparison of the Literary Digest returns with those derived from official state referenda on the prohibition question. Since 1919, when the Eighteenth Amendment was adopted, thirty-one tests have been taken in nineteen states on some phase of the liquor issue. Approximately two-thirds of these referenda have dealt with enactment or repeal of state enforcement laws, the remainder raising the issues of light wines and beer, repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment, or state dispensation. If we look only at the latter half of this post-amendment era, from 1926 to the present, we have official election figures on some angle of the prohibition question for ten states.

In voting on prohibition, it appears that people do not discriminate to any great extent between precise issues, but tend to vote on their fundamental Wet or Dry convictions. This being true, the returns on state enforcement, light wines and beer and repeal of the federal Amendment are presum-

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torate on other angles of the liquor question. In the 1930 Illinois referendum, for example, 67 percent of the voters favored repeal of the state prohibition law, 66 percent were for modifying the Volstead Act to allow states to define the alcoholic content of intoxicating liquor, and 66 percent stood for abolishing the Eighteenth Amendment. Here the vote on either state enforcement or light wines and beer would have provided a satisfactory index of sentiment for repeal of the Prohibition Amendment. To give another illustration, the Massachusetts electorate in 1928 stood 63 percent in favor of repealing the Eighteenth Amendment; in 1930, 64 percent of the voters favored repeal of the state enforcement act. This argument should hold for other commonwealths as well. Hence, for each of the ten states in which prohibition referenda have been taken since 1926, we have an official index of repeal voting strength which is highly reliable.

When the figures from official elections are set alongside those derived from the Literary Digest poll, the following comparison is obtained:

State	Year of Referendum	"Repeal" votes for every 100 cast—official	Repeal votes for every 100 cast—Lit. Digest, 1932	Official "Repeal" votes for every 100 Digest Repeal votes
R. I.	1930	78	84	93
Mass.	1928 and 1930	63 and 64	79	81
Ill.	1926 and 1930	60 and 66	81	81
Wis.	1926 and 1929	66 and 63	84	75
Mont.	1926 and 1928	53 and 54	81	67
N. D.	1928	48	75	64
N. Y.	1926	75	85	88
Nev.	1926	77	87	88
Colo.	1926	41	58	71
Cal.	1926	47	76	62

The 1926 referendum in Missouri is not shown because the Wets in this state opposed the test as untimely, hence the returns are probably not a fair indication of Wet strength.

From this demonstration it is observed that in each state in which a prohibition referendum has been held since 1926, the Digest poll shows more Wet voting strength than is revealed in the latest official canvass. There can be but two explanations for this dissimilarity in return: either popular preference for "repeal" has increased to the Literary Digest mark since the last official vote on prohibition, or the straw poll figures overstate repeal strength. Many people believe that a great wave of anti-prohibition sentiment has swept over the country during the last few years, but there exist certain stubborn data which make it difficult to believe that the current is running as strongly as the disparity between the Literary Digest and official figures indicate. In the first place, the official referenda figures printed above give no inkling of such a pronounced movement. In Illinois and Massachusetts before 1930 and in Montana before 1928, the anti-prohibition point of view is shown to

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with those of The Literary Digest. In Wisconsin before 1929, Wet strength appears to have slightly decreased.

Secondly, in the recent vote on the Beck-Linthicum resolution in the House, while it is true that the Wets seem to have made some gains, the Representatives from twenty-eight states voted wholly or predominantly Dry, notwithstanding the fact that, with one exception, their constituencies are reported by the Literary Digest poll to be Wet. These men presumably know something about public opinion in the home districts, or they couldn't have been elected. There is, of course, a possible lag in alteration of attitude between the opinion of the home population and that of the Congressmen chosen at the previous election. Nevertheless, some significance must be attached to the fact that their present judgment stands in opposition to The Literary Digest's report of a repeal landslide.

Finally, the newspaper profession does not share the opinion implicit in the Digest poll. In May, 1931, in connection with research on the straw vote, which has been in progress at Columbia University, opinions on repeal sentiment were obtained from several hundred editors throughout the country, which put the proportion of Wets far below the Digest poll. While skeptics may object that newspaper editors are as capable as Congressmen of being out of touch with community sentiment, their verdict also has weight.

If the conversion of Drys to repeal has not exceeded the rate indicated by the official referenda, and if the appraisals of repeal sentiment made by Congressmen and members of the newspaper profession are sound, the contention is hardly tenable that in the ten states dealt with above, growth of Wet sentiment explains the disparity between the Literary Digest and official referenda figures. The only remaining conclusion to be drawn is that The Literary Digest overstates voting strength for repeal. It follows from this that the magazine's straw vote is unreliable on its face, and if used at all as a measure of current prohibition opinion, it must be properly discounted. Can this be done? The final answer to this question cannot be given at this moment, but the problem might be experimentally attacked from two angles.

First, the average difference between the official referenda and the Digest Wet figure might be used as a correction ratio. Applied to the present poll, this would deflate the reported repeal strength about one-quarter, and would reduce the number of reported Wet states to about thirty-two. The reader, however, is cautioned that this manipulation is quite tentative and may present flaws that would invalidate it altogether. For example, if in the ten referenda states noted above, current repeal sentiment is markedly understated by the latest official test, this correction would tend to minimize the

might prove less applicable to the Drier states.

Second, straw polls, in which the sampling distortions operative in the Literary Digest poll were carefully controlled, might be taken in several states and the average difference between the Wet figures supplied by these polls and these furnished by The Digest might be used as a correction ratio for the latter, subject to the limitations noted for the first method. In this connection The Wichita (Kansas) Beacon has recently taken a "check-up" poll in its own city, yielding returns which practically duplicated those of The Literary Digest; but this corroboration is of very doubtful value because the Beacon referendum was a coupon-in-the-paper poll which may have been stuffed and was almost certainly influenced by increased Wet responsiveness as was the Literary Digest poll. This second method of correction can only be useful provided the check-up polls are free from the sampling flaws that biased the referendum of The Literary Digest. Such polls are entirely feasible, but their execution requires a technical skill which the ordinary straw-vote sponsor does not possess.

CLAUDE E. ROBINSON.

The Dilemma of Modern Socialism

BESIDES two arms and two legs for oratory, gesticulation and movement, Socialism has two heads and two hearts which are always at war with one another. The one is ardent to do things because they are economically sound. The other is no less ardent to do things which are admitted to be economically unsound. I mean by economically sound, improvements in organization and so forth which are desired because they will increase the production of wealth; and by economically unsound, things which will, or may, have the opposite effect.

And there is a further distinction to make. Things which are economically unsound are advocated for two widely different sorts of reasons. The first set are in pursuance of the ideal. Those who are influenced by them are ready to sacrifice economic wealth for the attainment of higher goods—justice, equality, beauty or the greater glory of the republic. The second set are political—to get up steam, to bribe political supporters, to stir up the embers of the class war, to irritate and exasperate the powers that be and to make their task most difficult and perhaps impossible, so that the mere force of events may compel their deposition and replacement. Thus some things may be advocated *in spite of* their being economically unsound, and other things may be advocated *because of* their being economically unsound.

These three motifs exist, variously compounded, in the breast of every Socialist. They are seen magnified, and therefore clearer, in the *politik* of the Bolshevists, the changes and vacillations in which are due to the fluctuating preponderance of one or the other motif. The Marxian creed, I take it, is that the third motif, the revolutionary, should preponderate in the first phase, the phase of attaining power; that the first, the practical, should preponderate in the second phase, when power has been used to prepare the way; and that the second, the ideal, should preponderate when the Socialist Republic emerges out of the blood and dust and travail fully fledged. The Revolution the Five Year Plan, the Ideal—that is the progression. But the distinction between the phases is not clear cut—all three motifs are present in some degree all the time. For English or American purposes one might perhaps sum the motifs up as the political, the practical and the ideal.

Now it is, I suggest, enormously important to know what one is doing, in what phase one is dwelling and in what proportions the motifs are mixed.

For my part I should like to define the Socialist program as aiming at political power, with a view to doing first what is economically sound, in order that later on the community may become rich enough to *afford* what is economically unsound.

My goal is the ideal; my object is to put economic considerations into a back seat; but my method at this moment of economic and social evolution would be to advance toward the goal by concentrating on doing what is economically sound. But there are others, I know, who would prefer, even today, to advocate what is economically unsound, because they believe that this is the best way to gain political power (which in any case is the first step), and that to render the existing system unworkable is the only means of reaching a new system. In my judgment both these notions are false; because the ruin of the old system, so far from making the construction of the new technically easier, may on the contrary make it impossible. For it will have to be on the basis of increased resources, not on the basis of poverty, that the grand experiment of the Ideal Republic will have to be made. I do not overlook the difficulty of getting up steam when things are going reasonably well. But I consider that precisely *that* is the problem to be solved. To be sufficiently deep-founded on the best intelligences and finest and strongest emotions of the community, to be able to keep up steam when things are going reasonably well; to thrive, not on the vapors of misery and discontent, but on the living energy of the passion for right construction and the right building up of a worthy society—that is the task.

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This leads me to the daily perplexity of British Socialism, and perhaps of Socialism everywhere, as I see it. The practical problem, the problem of how to do what is economically sound, is mainly an intellectual problem and, as it happens, a very difficult intellectual problem, about which there is much disagreement. But intellectually a large element, probably the predominant element, of the Labor party is old-fashioned and even anti-intellectual. It has been the trouble for years past that the leaders of the Labor party have differed from the leaders of the other parties chiefly in being more willing to do or to risk things which in their hearts they have believed to be economically unsound. They have not fundamentally disagreed with the other parties as to *what* is economically sound or unsound. Mr. J. H. Thomas' ideas, for example, of what is economically sound are, and always have been, almost exactly the same as those of the Tory Nationalists, Mr. Neville Chamberlain or Mr. Amery; and Viscount Snowden's ideas have been just the same as those of Liberal economists and deflationists such as Mr. Runciman or Sir Herbert Samuel or Lord Grey. They have been totally out of sympathy with those who have had new notions of what is economically sound, whether the innovator has been right or wrong. And this condition of affairs goes deep into the bowels of the Labor party. For the same is true, on the whole, of many others of the party's most respected pillars.

Now this puts the Labor party into a feeble position when—as it happened last summer as a result of the deflation—the country has got into such a pickle that there is an overwhelming and universal demand for a practical solution, when everyone is determined that, for the time being at least, we must ensure what is economically sound. For it means that in such a conjuncture most of the Labor leaders agree at heart with their opponents; so that having a bad conscience, they become exceedingly ineffective for the practical purposes of government. The Labor Cabinet was in a hopeless position last August, because most of them conscientiously believed in the gold standard and in deflation by economy, and were not prepared to throw these things overboard. Yet they were equally unprepared to sacrifice the political and the ideal motifs in which they had been brought up.

Therefore the first task of the Labor party, if it is to be effective, is, as I see it, to become intellectually emancipated as to what is economically sound, without losing either its political strength and its political organization which goes so deep into the social and economic life of England, or its ideals and ultimate goals. For in the modern world it has to be one thing or the other. Either the revolutionary motif must prevail or the practical motif. Nothing lands you in a sillier position or one which will draw down more certainly or more justly the contempt of the British people than not to know, when you propose something, whether the sound or because it is economically unsound. No one knew at the last election which leg the Labor party was standing on, least of all the party itself.

For my own part I would urge that we stand at a point in economic evolution when it is desirable to concentrate on what is economically sound. There are two good and sufficient reasons for this. In the first place, it happens that the most pressing reforms which are economically sound do not, as perhaps they did in earlier days, point away from the ideal. On the contrary, they point toward it. I am convinced that those things which are urgently called for on practical grounds, such as the central control of investment and the distribution of income in such a way as to provide purchasing power for the enormous potential output of modern productive technique, will also tend to produce a better kind of society on ideal grounds. There is probably less opposition today between the practical aim and the ideal than there has been hitherto.

In the second place, there is so much to be hoped today from doing what is economically sound that it is our duty to give this motif its opportunity. For it may be capable of solving once for all the problem of poverty. At present the world is being held back by something which would have surprised our fathers—by a failure of economic technique to exploit the possibilities of engineering and distributive technique; or, rather, engineering technique has reached a degree of perfection which is making obvious defects in economic technique which have always existed, though unnoticed, and have doubtless impoverished mankind since the days of Abraham. I mean by economic technique the means of solving the problem of the *general* organization of resources as distinct from the *particular* problems of production and distribution which are the province of the individual business technician and engineer. For the next twenty-five years, in my belief, economists, at present the most incompetent, will be nevertheless the most important, group of scientists in the world. And it is to be hoped—if they are successful—that after that they will never be important again. But during this horrid interval, when these creatures matter, it is of vast importance that they should be free to pursue their problem in an environment—for they, with their mixed subject matter, are of all men the least independent, as the history of their theory shows, of the surrounding atmosphere—uninfluenced, as far as possible, by the bias of the other motifs.

All this has been brought to a head, or at least brought to notice, by the radical changes in modern technique, especially in the last ten years, which are so brilliantly described in Mr. Frederick Henderson's "Economic Consequences of Power Production." Immemorially man's muscles have been, for the vast majority of purposes and operations, the source of power, sometimes aided by wind, water and domestic beasts. *Labor,* in the literal sense, has been the prime factor of production. It made

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tain limited operations, other sources of power were added. But even the addition of steam and electricity and gasoline have not made, in themselves, so radical a change as has the character of the new processes of production which have, in latter years, grown up with them. For until these latter years, the chief effect of new machines was to render *labor*, i.e. man's muscles, more efficient. Economists could plausibly argue that machinery was coöperative, not competitive, with labor. But the effect of the latest types of machinery is increasingly, not to make man's muscles more efficient, but to render them obsolete. And the effect is twofold: first, to furnish us with the ability to produce consumption goods, as distinct from services, almost without limit; and second, to use so little labor in the process that an ever increasing proportion of human employment must be occupied either in the field of supplying human services or in meeting the demand for durable goods which, if the rate of interest were low enough, would be still far from satisfied.

Thus the apparatus of economic organization is faced with a problem of readjustment of unusual difficulty in itself. If it is true that this apparatus has always been misunderstood and badly operated, if the supposed inner harmony and self-balancing characters of the economic system, in reliance on which our fathers were ready to surrender the system to laissez-faire, are an illusion, it is a natural result that events should be finding out where our intellectual weakness lies. Our prime task, therefore, is to discover, and then to do, what is economically sound. This temporary concentration on the practical is the best contribution which we of today can make toward the attainment of the ideal.

London. JOHN MAYNARD KEYNES.

The Independent Farmer

THE CANADIAN wheat farmer has been hit even harder, perhaps, than the farmer in most other countries; and he may well, before his present troubles are over, have ceased to be a farmer at all in the old accepted sense of the word.

Into the Canadian West has poured for four decades and more a steady stream of land-hungry settlers, a polyglot collection of men. Yorkshire laborers, Norwegian fishermen, Galician peasants, Iowa tenant farmers and Ontario farmer-sons, all motivated by the common desire of gaining economic independence and bettering their material conditions. And the Canadian prairie may be said to have been brought today entirely under the flow—the vast empty spaces all dotted with homes.

In Canada, as in the United States, a homestead law was in force, the aim of which was to lure settlers hither no less than to create here upon the wide windswept prairie a sturdy, independent yeo-

The law allowed for a hundred and sixty acres to each new settler, with a right to preëmpt an additional hundred and sixty acres. This made a sizable farm that could still be worked by the owner alone and his family except, perhaps, during the busy harvest season, when a little extra help would usually be needed.

The half-section farm was felt to be, indeed, at the time when the Canadian homestead law was enacted, at once the ideal and the most economic unit for this section of the country. It was a farm that could be depended on, at least in the more favored districts, to support a family in reasonable comfort, and one that laid claim on but little outside help. But it was a farm at the same time that was geared decidedly to the simple needs of a simple day. Neither automobiles, tractors, nor a great number of other modern appliances and conveniences that are deemed now all but indispensable, had as yet been heard of when the Canadian homestead act was passed. It was with these new appliances that his troubles began. His farm was not geared in size for these things. But credit being good and terms easy and high-pressure salesmanship hard to resist, he bought them anyhow. And even before the big break in grain prices of a year ago, there was unquestionably a big percentage of Canadian farmers heading slowly towards bankruptcy.

A process of elimination was already taking place, resulting in a steady increase in the size of the farms, and the gradual passing of the land into the hands of banks and loan companies. But so gradual was this process that it would perhaps have called for but little comment, even if its speed had become somewhat accelerated, as it undoubtedly would have been. The thin stream of bankrupt farmers dribbling into the cities to help swell the ranks there of the technologically unemployed, and to become in many cases social problems, would hardly have been noticed, while those others forging their way into the northern brush country to try to get a new start would have been noticed even less—just as the many deserted farmsteads scattered over the countryside would have come to be looked upon as a phenomenon belonging to the normal order of things. But a process already under way was not allowed to continue its slow pace. With the big break in grain prices a year ago, the whole farming population of western Canada may be said to have been put suddenly, with one stroke, practically on the same level. For if wheat must be raised at a price anywhere near that now obtaining, the job ceases to be that of the small-scale farmer, and becomes instead that of the superbly equipped, large-scale manufacturer or large coöperative. It is therefore today no longer the odd individual here and there who faces elimination, but a whole class.

For the Canadian Northwest, in spite of all the claims made to the contrary in gaudy illustrated

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search of population and by big landholding companies in search of purchasers, was never an ideal place to found a home. Its winters are long and severe; its summers short and blistering, and visited often by killing night frosts. It was not only a mistake economically, but from other standpoints as well, that these many thousands of homes were raised here, and the prairie parceled out into little farms. A mistake, that is, when viewed in the light of subsequent developments. For when the Canadian homestead law was enacted it could not but appear a wise measure. It was not till the arrival of really dependable tractors, an event that dates back a decade at most, that large-scale farming came to be the most economical way of doing things.

But the homes are here now, as are too the tens of thousands of bankrupt farmers. And the question becomes, under these circumstances, one really of what is to be done with these homes and these people, rather than of the most efficient and economical way of growing wheat.

"Scrap your tractors, turn back your automobiles, disconnect your radios, return to the simple way of a simpler day, become once more self-sustaining pioneers," sounds the advice from many quarters. But the Canadian wheat farmer, even were it desirable from a national standpoint that he do so, cannot return to the simple ways of a simpler day. His calculations in the past have been all based upon dollar wheat. The liabilities he has incurred are such as dollar wheat alone will clear. He must have that or leave his farm. No amount of retrenching and virtuous living is going to save him now. What the big break in prices has amounted to is in reality a virtual act of expropriation as far as he is concerned. Land values have tumbled down to levels that are, in most cases, far below the sums still owing on it. The value of farm equipment has tumbled even farther, so that a farmer's machinery debt now in most cases far exceeds the total value of his whole equipment. And farmers who a year ago considered themselves reasonably well-to-do have been reduced today, through the unprecedented slump, to pauperism, even if they do not all yet realize it. Nor is the situation different in what once was homestead country. It is merely that here it is the banks and loan companies who hold title to the land instead of big landholding concerns such as the Canadian Pacific Railroad Company and the Hudson Bay Fur Company. What would have been under all circumstances an impossible situation has been further aggravated everywhere by a prolonged drought, the worst in the history of western Canada, which has tended to complicate the issue, causing farmers as well as business men everywhere to put the blame upon the lack of rain.

The farmer, meanwhile, is allowed to sit unmolested on the land he can no longer call his, the bankers and landholding companies finding themselves as bewildered as he in the face of the new to do with the immense tracts that have legally reverted to them through the crash. But as he sits here thus, a doomed man, what is he doing to meet the new situation, what is he doing about his own future? Not much. Clamoring for government fixed prices, and preferential freight rates, and exemption from seizure, and subsidies of one kind or another, so he may go on producing wheat in his old wasteful inefficient way.

There are others, in the meantime, who are trying to find economic remedies for economic ills. In a circular letter sent out recently by one of the big banking institutions of Canada to its branch managers, the feasibility of producing wheat at the present price is discussed, and what is called the high-cost producer, the small individual farmer, that is, is referred to as a factor that must be eliminated from Canadian agriculture. The size of the smallest successful unit for mechanized farming, says the letter, is from two to three thousand acres. But it is certainly here using low figures. Even so, a farm unit this size is from five to six times as big as the average Canadian wheat farm at the present time. According to this estimate, at least five out of every six farmers must be eliminated. And what promises, meanwhile, does the bank make for the eliminated farmer? None. He may go hang as far as this or any other bank is concerned. Nor is it easy to see what other course is left open to him, unless he chooses to trek north into the bleak brush country under the Arctic circle.

And the farmer is getting ready for the trek. Everywhere on the prairie one hears farmers talking about striking north into the brush, where they may hope, by raising a few hogs and keeping a couple of milk-cows, and perhaps killing an occasional moose, to eke out a miserable living for themselves and their families. Though the small independent grower may well be doomed, it should not be necessary for him to flee to the tundras before the advancing machine. With the inauguration of large-scale, completely mechanized wheat growing, at least two-thirds of the people engaged today in this kind of farming will have become superfluous, as will too that vast horde of camp followers engaged in selling them things and in collecting the bills from them after the things have been sold. But if these new grain factories were to become vast coöperative undertakings, run for the benefit of the people as a whole, the two-thirds of the population released from actual farm work might well be shipped off to more hospitable climes, along with their hangers-on, where they might all be put to work making useful things for themselves and for those remaining behind. And they might even be joined there each fall, when the fields had been relieved of their burden by the batteries of tractor-drawn combines and the first flurries of snowflakes had started to drift through the air by most of the remaining third.

JOHN ANDERSEN

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How to Make a Coup d'Etat

REVOLUTIONS, flowering suddenly in boldface type over the breakfast newspaper, have become only too familiar to the citizen of the modern age. A glance at the map shows us that those nations or dominions which have been able to preserve an interior stability, since the World War, through democratic or constitutional order, are in a great minority. They are chiefly the states of the northwestern coast of Europe and of the English-speaking people of North America. The destinies of the other states, in increasing number grown undemocratic, absolute, authoritarian, are no longer guided by the deliberations of parliaments. Hence a political opposition within such states may count only upon the way of conspiracy and revolution in order to effect its policies. To the Right or the Left, "Catilinarians" gather in force to fight abuses, to overcome disequilibrium, often attributed to democratic and liberal procedure. For human beings almost everywhere have been fused into economic masses by modern civilization, tending to respond to a common stimulus or react against a common disorder. The psychology of the people is fixed by their mass life; in crowds they may be swept by a single voice, or driven to follow the Caesar of the hour. (This was true even of the tranquil United States in the national crisis of 1917-1918.) Therefore it is not strange that a body of "descriptive science" has been gathered together in recent years, treating specifically of the phenomena of revolution and endeavoring to teach as definitely as possible tactics of attack and of defense.

There exists today a modern technique of insurrection. This is the assertion of a most suggestive, if slight and sketchy, work on the new branch of knowledge, written lately by an Italian Fascist leader, Signor Malaparte, who has really given us a latter-day version of "The Prince," altered to suit modern dictatorships and modern technology.[1] Malaparte's model is not Mussolini, as one might have expected, but Trotzky. For him, it is Trotzky who in October, 1917, first employed modern tactics of insurrection. While Lenin may be said to have been the master strategist of the revolution, directing its conduct and defense upon a larger and longer plan, Trotzky personally carried out a coup d'état in a manner that was a great departure from precedent and established, so to say, a classic model for our time.

Examination of the papers of Lenin and Trotzky, written at the time of the revolution and afterwards, shows us that Trotzky did actually devise a new insurrectionary formula. Whether it was the formula that played the decisive role, rather than the men and the times, or whether it might be made to work almost everywhere, as Malaparte holds, is another and more difficult question. Trotzky himself has commented that the operations of the Bolsheviki benefited greatly from precise planning, that they were executed skillfully, but were "elastic." At any rate, it may be illuminating to reconstruct briefly the momentous events of October, 1917, both according to Malaparte's analysis and Trotzky's own accounts in his autobiography and elsewhere.

In the autumn of 1917 the Bolshevist faction, headed by Lenin and Trotzky, had become aware of their growing power. The Kerensky government had appealed to them for help at the time of General Kornilov's raid upon the capital; their workers, soldiers and sailors had aided mightily in driving off the military adventurers. In the first week of October the Bolsheviki gained a majority of the Petrograd Soviet, recently called into being, and had Trotzky elected chairman. Lenin and his colleagues felt that the Russian masses were in movement, sensed clearly how sharp was the crisis, how complete was the breakdown of the old order. Lenin advocated a revolution of violence against the provisional war government; he was for calling a general strike, giving the signal of revolt, raising forces large enough to overwhelm the 20,000 soldiers who garrisoned the city and to defend it from enemies without. He hoped to have a *fait accompli* to present before the meeting of the All-Russian Soviet scheduled for the last days of October.

Trotzky, too, desired an immediate insurrection; but he opposed the idea of a mass uprising. His plan of action envisaged concentration upon a narrower zone by a small minority, a compact force of workers, soldiers and sailors, who were trained for insurrectionary tactics and whose operations were to be carried out in perfect order and with a cold violence.

"Insurrection . . . is a machine," Trotzky said. "To set it in motion we need technicians; and only technicians can stop it. . . . We need armed detachments, led by engineers."

Amid the fearful disorder of Petrograd, war-weary, famished, overflowing with a rabble of 200,000 deserters, the Military Revolutionary Committee worked day and night in the Smolny Institute, while couriers, informants, agitators, Red Guards, came and went, or preserved contact with it over the telephone. Trotzky's plan was approved somewhat reluctantly, as the intra-party communications show. The other leaders continued their own efforts toward disaffecting the troops, calling a general strike and working for a mass uprising, while Trotzky made cool preparations for taking over

[1] La Technique du Coup d'Etat, translated from the Italian of C. Malaparte. Paris. 1931.

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stroke. An early date was set for the insurrection; then it was delayed ten days, Trotzky later recalled, "for agitational and technical preparations." What happened upon the given signal was not an old-time "palace revolution," or a military or political uprising, but a technological coup d'état.

With the aid of Antonov-Ovseienko, a former military officer, mathematician and chess player, Trotzky studied plans of all the government institutions and technical services of the capital. The disposition of gas, water and electric mains, of telephone, telegraph and power centrals, food and fuel stores: all these were marked out. The city was divided into sectors and the small detachments of Red Guards, numbering only 1,000 in all, were assigned to each vital point under the leadership of such experts or mechanics as were available.

The Kerensky government, informed of the Bolsheviki's intentions, waited only for mob movements; it increased the police and military guards about the Ministry buildings and the Winter Palace, where the Duma sat talking, worrying, debating. In the meantime Trotzky's shock troops went methodically about their "invisible maneuvers." For the time being they were unarmed, training, studying the ground assigned to them in inconspicuous groups of three and four. They reported the vital parts of the State's bureaucratic and technical machinery to be unguarded. In some cases they filtered through the lines of military guards and set up machine-gun nests in a position to fire upon the backs of the defenders. One of the city's four power stations fell quietly into their hands, several days in advance. This is why Trotzky declared to his colleagues: "There will be no civil war. Our enemies will capitulate at once."

The leaders of the attacking units reported themselves in readiness; armed pickets were posted before the gates of the military barracks. On October 24, 1917, the signal for the coup was given by Trotzky.

Without opposition the armed units throughout the capital opened all gates, took over one after another the means of communication, transport, production and electric power, ignoring for the moment the seats of the government councils. The Red Guards placed themselves at the machines and sought to run them as well as possible. All detachments reported progress constantly to their leader on the third floor of the Smolny Institute. By the following morning the strange, bloodless coup d'état was completed. The newspapers were ignorant of what had happened. The Duma sent a commission which inquired whether the Bolsheviki really meant to take military action against the government, and offered to treat peacefully with them. But the government in the Winter Palace was but a shadow by now.

The Social Democratic government of Kerensky, this government which sought to continue the war with Germany, had for long months been well nigh helpless in the face of the disorder and despair which engulfed the whole nation. Now, though its parliamentary seat and its bureaucratic institutions were still intact, all its vital nerves, all its arteries, were severed. Whatever authority it had could no longer be communicatd to the nation after October 24. To be sure, the mere existence of the ministers presented a danger to the revolution. But the Red sailors, soldiers and workers, who had helped save this government from Kornilov in August, were now encamped before its palaces with their machine guns.

This sinister pause of twenty-four hours, Trotzky told Lenin and Dzherjinsky, would be enough to decide whether the already disaffected military garrisons in the city would come over to the revolution. Surprised by the swift march of events, these troops would recoil before plunging blindly into civil war. Bewildered, leaderless, most of them would pass to the command of the Military Revolutionary Committee, when the Red Guards, supported by rebel cruisers on the Neva, would attack the Winter Palace. Kerensky and all those ministers who were not arrested would flee the capital on the morrow. As for the masses, hysterical or weary, they would choose between famine or revolution.

At one o'clock in the afternoon of October 25, Trotzky announced:

> On behalf of the Military Revolutionary Committee, I declare that the provisional government is no longer existent. Some ministers have been arrested. . . . The revolutionary guard, under orders of the Military Revolutionary Committee, has dissolved the session of the Pre-Parliament. We have been on the watch throughout the night and have followed the detachments of revolutionary workers', soldiers' and sailors' guards by telephone as they silently carried out their tasks. The citizens slept in peace, ignorant of the change from one power to another. The railway stations, the post office, the telegraph and telephone centrals, the State Bank, have all been occupied. The Winter Palace . . . its fate will be decided during the next few minutes.

Wild applause burst forth; then silence, as the men of the Soviets suddenly thought of the future and wondered if they could carry to completion the exploit so signally begun. The intermittent roar of cannons, the crackling of machine guns, could be heard from far off. Then a courier, the gigantic sailor Dybenko, sprang into the great hall of the Smolny Institute with the news that the Winter Palace had fallen; its occupants were prisoners of the Bolsheviki.

For that which was to follow, defense of the revolution, Lenin was ready. A network of Soviets sprang into being overnight to replace the collapsed government structure. The militant workers of Petrograd, Moscow and the Donetz Basin, quickly organized, carried the whole Russian people with them into the revolution.

In the hour of destiny Trotzky had done his work brilliantly, as we see in retrospect, whatever

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the present rulers of Russia may think. That there was virtually no bloodshed, so Malaparte comments, speaks for the perfection of Trotzky's coup d'état, with its ingenious adjustment to the functioning of the modern State. It was no mere military coup, like the "18 Brumaire" of Napoleon I; no vague uprising for the rights of man. It was an insurrection led by fervent Marxians who, feeling the productive masses of workers behind them, prepared and then struck for control of the technical and administrative machinery, the "vital centers."

Some six years later Trotzky wrote with authority (in The Labor Monthly, January, 1924) upon the tactics and timing of the revolutionary coup. "The party with a majority of the working class behind it should fix a definite time in the future for the revolution," he said, "and then concentrate every effort for the final struggle." For this you needed "political, organizational and military-technical leadership" of the revolutionary masses.

Mussolini, taking Trotzky for his model, was also able to bring off his "revolution" at a fixed time, in 1922. Had he not seen the Kapp *Putsch* in Germany, two years before, turned into Napoleonic farce within a few hours, when a Social Democratic premier had called a general strike? Mussolini, a Marxian originally, abandoned all thought of a military coup d'état. His first task—in an Italy so different from Russia—was to break the power of the militant labor organizations whose long strikes paralyzed the country, then to absorb the labor forces within his own organization. This was the truly violent phase of his campaign for power, lasting over three years.

The impending revolution was not visible to the naked eye. But that there was disorder, I can testify personally, having had my hat stolen from a dining car as I crossed the Italian border in the summer of 1922. Hatless (like a Fascist) but incredulous, I watched the street activities of the Black Shirts in Rome for some weeks. There were *rixes* between the Reds and the Blacks, outside the city, from day to day. I would see the students, clad in knickerbockers, returning, bearing bandages. I would see them getting in and out of automobiles whose blinds were drawn, and which contained machine guns. My *pension* was guarded by troops (like the government palaces); and we had a captain quartered with us, who talked with levity of the "comic-opera revolution."

But by the autumn of 1922, Mussolini had 200,000 Black Shirts in motion. When all was in readiness, he employed the invisible technological methods of Trotzky. In October the uprising began in Milan. Malaparte, who participated in the capture of Florence, describes the seizure of that key city, vital to the railroad communications of all Italy. Mussolini's tactics aimed at disarming the military guards of the existing government while preparing to man and control all its means of production. Some 50,000 Fascisti "besieged" Rome, where Mussolini treated with the King's [illegible] Facta ministry. Would there be civil war? Even outside of Florence, a large force of regular troops lay ready to recapture the city. But its commander hesitated, as the first premature and tricky rumors of the King's yielding spread through Tuscany. A general strike, called in August by the parliamentary government (!) had been crushed within twenty-four hours by Mussolini. This was why he declared that he was ready to take over the State. The King, as Malaparte points out, had but the choice between a loyalist-democratic government that was disarmed, and the militant Fascisti who occupied all its vital centers. The Facta ministry fell; and Mussolini's coup d'état of 1922 was carried out overnight. With the cry of "Long live the King!" and without resistance, the 50,000 Black Shirts marched into Rome.

Thus a new tradition of revolution has been created in the pattern of the Bolshevist coup d'état. Chinese Communists, according to Malaparte, have been taught the new technique at a school in Moscow. In Berlin, the Fascists of Hitler, the Red Guards of the Communists, are said to march about, unarmed, at their "invisible maneuvers," preparing to seize the vital parts of the economic and civil organism. Against such tactics, legal and police measures have proved to be vain. But is it true, as Malaparte contends, that the new technological methods may be used everywhere with success?

The revolutions that we have watched during the past fifteen years have all varied remarkably. Each one evokes the "unforeseen, the elemental," as Trotzky has observed, although success may well depend upon the degree of preparation and planning. But can the "cold and violent" insurrectionary tactics of a Trotzky alone prevail? Lenin tells us of all the favorable omens he perceived in the Russia of 1917: universal exhaustion after war, approaching famine, the civil chaos out of which the Soviets arose to impose order. And does not Trotzky, too, recall how the bourgeoisie (i.e, the capitalist class) was prostrate, how the workers came streaming to the Red banner? The making of these preliminary conditions was the handiwork neither of Trotzky nor of Lenin.

MATTHEW JOSEPHSON.

After the Poet Archias

Look closely at the little ring
With jasper signet, on my hand:
We do not always understand
The magic of so slight a thing.

In exquisitely chiseled stone
The microscopic cattle breathe,
While on the meadow underneath,
Out of the jewel, grass is grown.

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Washington Notes

The Democratic Revolt—Republican Hopes Boom—Hoover's Vetoes—Will He Go Wet or Dry?

THE STATE of mind of the Democratic leaders who have been laboring so anxiously to get big-business support for their party in the 1932 campaign is little short of pathetic. The jolt they received when the bulk of their party revolted against the sales tax was wholly unexpected. They had the most complete confidence in the strength of Garner's leadership and the "balance the budget" slogan was to be a theme song for the campaign. Despite Garner's Boy Scout antics the other day, confidence in the Raskob-Shouse management has now been badly shattered and there is sadness and confusion at headquarters.

The fact is that not only have the House Democrats repudiated the guiding hand of the National Committee combination, but the candidate whom the combination opposes is apparently increasing his lead and at present seems more likely to be nominated than before. While it is still possible for the conservative wing of the party to control the Senate on the tax issue, the hope that during this session the Democratic party would make a "constructive record" which would attract the business interests of the East has been pretty well shot to pieces. Obviously the party is not proceeding along this line and the New York financial advisers, who thought they had the course all charted, are completely dismayed and the party policy for the rest of the session is to be left to the so-called steering committee of House and Senate.

Where and in what direction this committee will steer is something no one cares to predict, but it is generally believed that before the fight is over the conservatives will prevail and the tax bill as it is finally passed will permit a modified claim of "we balanced the budget" to be made. However, this end, if the action of the House stands, will be gained by adopting the same sort of individual sales taxes recommended by the Treasury Department weeks ago. Except for the increase in the income rates, there would be small justification for calling it a Democratic bill. Hopes are now centered upon brave Joe Robinson and his sales-tax friends of both parties in the Senate.

Naturally, the Democratic discord has perked up the Republican morale and stiffened Republican hopes. One finds a new cheerfulness among Republican Senators, who heretofore have been deeply steeped in gloom. It is their feeling that, unpopular as Mr. Hoover is, the Democratic alternative may be of such a character as to ensure his reelection, if he himself can be induced to play a wise political game.

So far as the Democrats in Congress are concerned, they appear to be conducting themselves in such a way as to help Mr. Hoover complete the portrait of himself which he yearns to have popularized—that of a sturdy bulwark between an irresponsible and reckless Congress and the National Treasury. Ordinarily such a portrait of the President would be ridiculous, but the Democratic tendency to run amuck is so pronounced that if the Democrats pass, as is expected, the two-billion-dollar bonus, which Mr. Hoover unquestionably will veto, they will have contributed considerably to making the portrait even more convincing.

Those who have talked with Mr. Hoover recently tell me that he believes that before the session is over his vetoes will have greatly strengthened his position. I know that was his idea before Congress convened, but the nonpartisan coöperation of the Democrats in the Hoover program and their opposition to the progressive unemployment-relief measure left no room or reason for vetoes. Now the White House believes that the time is coming when the presidential veto will be the only way to prevent the complete demoralization of the government finances. The contention is that the veto will enable the President to emerge from the session considerably stronger than when it began. To one man who urged him some days ago to offer Congress a concrete and detailed program of economy in federal expenditures, he replied in effect that it was better to let Congress take the initiative, that Congress would pay no heed to his recommendations anyhow, and that he could always prevent calamitous cuts by the veto.

This is a noble stand, indeed, if he can get away with it, and he may easily enough in the bonus matter. However, in the question of governmental economy, I think the chances are that the sort of cuts offered will be cuts which he cannot afford to veto because they will be too much in line with the public demand. No one with any degree of discernment can mistake the deep and angry desire upon the part of the people for a sharp curtailment of the federal budget. What they want is a major surgical operation and it is fairly clear that one will be performed, with the progressive Senators wielding the knife.

I spoke a while ago of the belief among Republican leaders that Hoover can be reëlected if he can be "induced to play a wise political game." By that they mean a practical attitude toward the prohibition issue. Though the Democratic lack of unity and absence of direction have inspired them with hope, the tremendous unpopularity of Hoover's Dry stand in the big Wet and indispensable Eastern and Midwestern states has convinced most of them that unless he can be shaken loose from it in some way, not even Democratic demoralization in Congress will be enough to save him.

A few weeks ago I mentioned the pressure that was being exerted on the President in the hope of shoving him in the direction of a referendum plank in the platform. Recently word has leaked out that this pressure was having its effect and accordingly it has been doubled. Mr. Hoover is careful to guard in every way against anything like an authoritative indication of his feelings, but the fact is that some of the party factors with whom he is in constant touch now express confidence that a "way will be found" to keep the Wet Republicans in line, whereas before they were earnest but not really hopeful. There will be anguished cries from the professional Dry leaders if and when their White House hero moves away from them, but it is difficult to see how they could do him much damage. The Democratic candidate is certain to be an out-and-

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who merely approves a referendum, I should think the professionals would have to stand by Hoover. There are two views as to the political effect of such an attitude on the part of Hoover. One is that past political history shows that each time a candidate has shifted his position on this emotional issue he has lost the friendship of one side without gaining the confidence of the other. The other view is that, inasmuch as the Democratic platform will not go beyond a referendum plank, for the Republicans to forestall them in this direction will take prohibition out of the campaign and leave the Democrats with no issue at all. There is a defensible argument on both sides, but the talk of the Republican weight is on the Wet side and the influence exerted on the reluctant Mr. Hoover is getting stronger all the time. Perhaps they will succeed so far as the referendum idea is concerned, but they will not succeed, I think, in getting Mr. Hoover to express his real thoughts or convictions on this issue. Those he will hide to the last.

Washington. T. R. B.

De Sanctis' History

THE KNOWLEDGE that no space possible to an ordinary review could give fair notice to a superb book tempts me to begin at once airing myself on the "Storia della Litteratura Italiana."[1] But to the reader are due certain items about a book written sixty years ago and only now translated into English. De Sanctis' book belongs to the school of romantic and idealistic literary history. It was published in 1870 but was more or less a product of his teaching and thought from 1839 to 1848, at the very height, that is, of the Italian romantic movement and the cult of German philosophy. The substance of De Sanctis' thought was further strengthened by the lectures that he delivered during his exile in Turin and Zurich from 1853 to 1860. Later, when he was a Member of Parliament and then Minister of Education for the Kingdom of Italy, he published the book, adding to it essays and monographs that he had written. At the time of its publication Italy was under the spell of the philological and scientific reaction, even in the arts; his book, accordingly, was out of season, and appeared only to pass into obscurity. After 1900 it rose to fame and gave birth to a new school. Croce has always professed himself a disciple of De Sanctis; Mussolini, in the opposite camp, declares the great influence on him that this book exerted, and among foreign admirers Brunetière more than once spoke of it as a work of the first water and regretted its lack of wider currency.

In the epoch of De Sanctis, historical writing in the idealistic and romantic direction had left behind the learned and bibliographical tradition, for one thing, and for another had set aside the type of academic judgment that applied fixed models and rules in its literary criticism. Criticism, therefore, had begun to approach literature as a product of the human spirit, and to judge it as an expression of the social life of a people. It happens thus that De Sanctis sees his country's literature in relation to Italian social, moral and political history; his book, therefore, is most of all a history, written profoundly from within the race, of the Italian people from era to era. He begins his account with the life in the south, Sicily above all, and moves on toward Tuscany and the north, a period when Italy was wholly alive with the religious life accruing from the Middle Ages and the political life that derived from the struggles of the free communes. He moves on to the Renaissance with its irony, its cultural energy, its observing eye, past that "idyllic" literature, the object of his contempt, which lasted to the middle of the sixteenth century, and then on to the Spanish rule and to the Catholic Reformation, to his mind only a reaction, that led to the debasement of the Italian spirit and the deadening of the sense of nationality, a state of things lasting almost to the nineteenth century. He treats at length of the age of the new science, the Italian reawakening and thus into his own century. The book is a record of the Italian genius, the characteristics and consciences of the diverse Italian epochs, but it is applicable over the widest range possible to literary history. Toward the end, as might be expected, it narrows a little more closely into the Italian problem and interest.

The very last of the book is also marred by the fact that the publisher would not agree to any further extension in length, so that the discussion on Leopardi, for example, is cut to almost nothing; a great misfortune in my opinion and a disappointment; for I should have liked to see what De Sanctis would say about the poet who has seemed to me to have the finest style in all modern lyric poetry and with it some marvelous grave finality that is the last word in poignancy. This would have been all the more interesting to me because of my suspicion of a difference with this critic as to the importance of form itself. Croce points out how from the tradition of his Italian Vico and such Germans as Hegel, his first influences, De Sanctis reacted, especially with regard to conceptualism, by which poetry stood not so much to itself but was regarded as symbolical and sensible manifestations of philosophy. De Sanctis stood up for form, and by form he meant nothing abstract, set or academic, nothing apart from its content; he meant the result of the content's, in its every respect, having found the form—inherent in it as crystallization may be in a chemical solution—that contains and expresses it. There remains, nevertheless, an impression in my mind that De Sanctis undervalued the mere possibility in power and persuasion of the formal. Even when slightly false, slightly non-inherent in the matter to be expressed, superimposed, shall we say, the formal may carry something of its own: I have seen Bernhardt, for instance, completely false to the dramatic moment, to the writing, to everything save some inner tigerish fire of egotism, magnetism and declamation, express what upheavals in nature might express; and there are places in Byron, Propertius, Calderon and Politian where, regardless of its sincerity or rightness, the sheer glow of the persuasive form is joined to the beating of your heart.

It must be added, for those who need a manual of Italian literature, that this history of De Sanctis' will need a supplement, for he leaves out or passes quickly over many

[1] The History of Italian Literature, by Francesco de Sanctis. Translated by Joan Redfern. Introduction by Benedetto Croce. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. $7.50

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great praise for the translation, which is so natural and right that only a knowledge of Italian will reveal the fact of its being a translation at all. I felt it only now and again, in the nouns mostly, which delighted me by having in them something of that flavor of abstraction that is often in Italian.

We live in a country where one book after another is the greatest of its kind, if not of all books; where a young lady writing on an eighteenth-century philosopher, Voltaire, for example, has given us for the first time the man as he lived, and where from month to month it is all too much happiness to the reviewer to live in a generation that could produce such and such a book. The reviewer writes thus without concern about showing himself a fool, his journal likes him to be quoted in the advertisements, and the public tries for the nonce to ride in his carriage. But the great public, I believe, in time realizes the case, discovers the real worth of these blown books, and clings to none at all. The joy of rooting remains, nevertheless, shouting for the winning team. Nobody would be more surprised than De Sanctis himself to be put into these immortal weekly lists, and I have not the heart to put him there. I only know that, for any passable review of his book, what learning I may have must be spiritualized, what theory or philosophy must become concrete, and each of them must be fulfilled in the other.

This work records the history of a society for ten centuries, its conscience, its intensity of religious or political mood, its expression in literature of its content, rich or thin. This work follows the process of an esthetic theory; it interprets, sometimes as a great poet himself might, the man and the meaning, Dante, for example, or Machiavelli; it exalts, dazzles and warns the Italian race; it speaks freely and humanly, backed by a large cultivation, of the Italian position, considering it from epoch to epoch, with regard to the other countries of Europe, and it brings to the evaluations a warmth and fullness of mind, a spirit with its own ardor and courage, and a pen that is luminous, biting or final.

De Sanctis has his eye always on the development of the Italian language, the Latin that was written, elevated, obligatory for serious effects, the vulgar Latin, the local forms, spoken more than written, and meanwhile the Tuscan perfecting itself from century to century, full of the flexibility of use, the grace of dialect, the tang of what is living. He traces chivalry in relation to the Italian nature, the faint Gothicism possible to the conception when Italians handled it, the clarity of mind and increasing indolence of living that left chivalric tales, of knights, virgins, romantic adventures and mighty miracles, in the region of mere pastime, graceful amusement and half irony. This chivalric matter culminates at last in Ariosto, who set it off with an impeccable and sustained art that made him the light of his day in Italy. It turns inward to lyricism, propriety, spiritual torment and softness in Tasso. On Dante the more than a hundred and fifty pages of discussion are beautiful and revealing in every direction: with regard, for example, to Dante's external originality in the lyrics and "The Divine Comedy," or to his whole lay-out and intention in the "Inferno," the "Purgatorio," the "Paradiso." The list of modern poetic tendencies pointed [illegible] ideas and first sources is, as De Sanctis set it out, aston- [illegible] having set forth the facts he used them also suggestive. This long interpretation of Dante must be read entire if we are to sense its grasp and glamor; a citation or so may illustrate its point and its powerful light:

The wonder of Dante's, after the "Inferno," having been able to forget himself so completely, forget his old ways of conception, of coloring, of his having been able "to sink himself so entirely in this new world, to recreate his mind and fantasy in this new image, with so much continuity that he seems unconscious of the change! He had the gift of burying the soul in the thing, which is the secret of life, of love and of genius."

"The souls weep and sing, and that mountain place is gay with open valleys and scented fields, a scene that is ended when the soul rises of its own free will, moving upward to a better threshold, and cleansing the impurity of its conscience with pure joy."

To try to go further with this inexhaustible book is only foolish. But a note on the Boccaccio essay cannot be left out; the sanity and fecundity of Boccaccio, and the critic's wide placing of Boccaccio in his time, must be a surprise to any but good students of Italian literature. The "Petrarch" is nearly as good, and the "Cinquecento," if a little impatient with the elegant perfection of the time, idyllic and sensuous, while Italy was being overrun with foreigners and wrecked by the papal ambition, is yet a wholesome chapter for us in the face of all the art-and-splendor muddle about that century. In dealing with such a period, so brilliant and confusing in its surface aspects, De Sanctis' gift is the right one; instead of raising the dust with these outward splendors of the period, he discovers its limits, and consequently its truth. In the "Aretino" we see the critic's power of gauging his man in the range of the epoch which produced him and for which he could create an image.

By a fine tact in method De Sanctis, as he nears the seventeenth century, when significant literature subsided, and the way began to open for our realistic and scientific modernity, shifts his matter and his approach. He had already prepared the way for these pages in his full and loving discussion of Machiavelli, a hundred years earlier in the history. The ground of this change is entirely sound, for what chance there was for a growing and modern Italy, for healthy and curious minds and free expression, lay in the fortune of the new science. From this on, the main interest of this history will follow after Campanella, Giordano Bruno, Galileo and finally Vico—Vico's education, growth, indomitable intellectual independence and passion, his knocking the ground from under Descartes and the whole new science, his later inclusion of their best substance, his death and lapse into oblivion until the next century, when his memory rose to shine above all the schools with the word of the new century: "Criticism" (not skepticism, not dogmatism, et cetera, but criticism), and when his speculations saw their results larger and larger, and among his many followers were such men as Condorcet, Herder and Hegel—De Sanctis' account of all this makes up a long chapter, so brilliant and devoted, so packed with detail, so brainstorming, and yet so full of motion, that it is absorbing like a romance. Indeed, the extent to which modern science and thought derive from Italy their basic

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to whip up his countrymen and to make their very own genius a reproach. One way to praise such a book is to say that, to an honest man, writing about it can be little comfort. For any idea or judgment I might mention from De Sanctis' pages I have the feeling that the one thing best would be to quote it, though even then it would be cut off from the light of what leads up to it and what moves on from it into the history afterwards. STARK YOUNG.

A COMMUNICATION

For a Boycott: A British View

SIR: For the first time in our generation, the world has witnessed a war in which the moral issue is so limpidly simple that it allows only one verdict. The conquest of the Boer republics by British imperialism at the turn of the century was perhaps the closest parallel, but even for that predatory capitalist adventure a clever sophist could state a case (as Bernard Shaw did), and it occurred in the pre-League, pre-Kellogg era, when we all lived contentedly in our jungle in a state of bloody innocence, and wore no pacts or covenants to cover the shame of our nakedness. Unluckily the simplicity of the moral issue supplies no clear guide to political conduct. You in America dare no more trust your human instincts, which cry out for some relief of action, than we in Europe dare trust the automatic working of the League's machinery. Our case is peculiarly interesting, for many advocates of the League idea (myself among them) had argued that a precise, and even legitimate test of aggression, which would eliminate national interest and sympathy from the debate, must be the foundation of any effective coöperative procedure for the suppression of war. The first practical test of this thesis on a big scale has made it clear that theory had run far ahead of conviction. The chief explanation of the League's inadequacy and timidity in this crisis is evidently that its Covenant is so tightly drawn that if it had branded Japan's aggression with the condemnation it merited, "sanctions" and a formal state of war must have followed automatically. Faced with that prospect, the League has wallowed in humiliation and hypocrisy in its pitiful efforts to hint a verdict which it dare not pronounce. It seems, then, that whether we trust to instinct or bind ourselves by legal formulae, the result will be the same. We must think out our conduct in terms of cause and effect. We must answer the precise question: Will our earth be a happier and, in the long run, a more peaceful planet, if we take action against Japan? Or is it wiser to fold our arms and leave the wrongdoer to the vengeance of history? British and American answers to this question are diverging in a puzzling and disquieting way. Your administration tends to be activist; ours, in its almost limitless toleration of wrong, drives us to despair. You, on the other hand, are resolutely quietist, while those of us who usually share your outlook on life and politics are for action. Yours is the heavier responsibility, for manifestly feeling in the United States is such, from a mixture of good and less admirable motives, that action is a thinkable course. Our attitude is by comparison academic. We are liberating our consciences, but we know that nothing (unless Japan should set out frankly to conquer the Yangtse Valley) will stir our government to action, or even cause it to depart from its pose of an "open mind" and a "suspense of judgment." Certainly nothing that we do or say will move it.

The reasons for this official British attitude are not mysterious. This is the most nationalist government that has ever sat in Downing Street in my lifetime. Its horizon is all but confined to the British Empire. The League is, in a sense, a rival institution to that Empire. The Tory majority has no real faith in the Covenant, but has on the other hand unlimited confidence in the British navy, which it cherishes for our own self-regarding purposes. It does not greatly relish close coöperation with the United States. Some memory of the old alliance still links it in sentiment with Japan. It may regret her inconveniently energetic action at Shanghai, but in its heart, busied as it is in India, it frankly approves her performance in Manchuria. Its attitude to China is one of impatient contempt, and it may reflect, not without satisfaction, that Japan may sooner or later clash with Soviet Russia. The attitude of the British Socialist and Labor movement and of the sincerer type of Liberals is inevitably a reaction against this hard-faced imperialism. Our stand for the League idea and against Japan is inextricably bound up with our stand for India, against navalism—even against tariffs. This does not make for clear thinking, in our own minds, and it tends to divide us from you. For in your case the sinister and imperialistic forces are by a contrary accident ranged against Japan. We both take our color from our environment.

Let us address ourselves, then, to the central question—the probable effects of action or inaction. Assuredly the consequences of the last "war to end war" supply a ghastly warning. Many of us opposed it (myself among the number) and some of us (including myself) regretted America's entry, since it ended the hope of a stalemate and a peace without victory. But we should dispute the analogy. The World War was in its origin an ordinary struggle for power, and for all that power is supposed to yield: the idealistic motive, however sincerely the masses entertained it, did not influence the belligerent governments, most of which were brought in and kept in by the booty promised in the secret treaties. In the present case the reluctance of all the governments to assume an attitude that might embroil them is the best proof that action is the disinterested course. There is nothing to be got out of stopping Japan, and that is precisely why no government will lift a finger to stop her. If ever one had reason to suspect that the League's Council were hawking Chinese provinces or Pacific islands round the table at Geneva, one might recall the precedent of 1914. As things stand, the table is bare, and no one stirs.

But the main difference between 1914 and 1932 is that civilization in the interval has made an effort to organize itself against war. Germany, apart from the incident of Belgium, which had no place in the causation of the War, had shattered no system of peace: there was none to shatter. It exists today, and Japan has smashed three of its pillars. The main drift of our case for action is that if we fail to act, this system vanishes in cynical laughter. Perhaps we were naïve; none the less, most of us did believe that this

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system (Covenant, Pact of Paris, World Court and what-not) did in fact add something to the security of great and small. Our case for disarmament was in great part built upon the principle of coöperative security—that an organized world must refuse to allow an innocent state to suffer unhelped. This Far Eastern precedent has left little life in that principle. For in several respects this case was a favorable one for the League. The aggression was unusually flagrant: China was a model client: Japan had no ally: the United States was ready to coöperate. Rarely in any probable or imaginable dispute would these circumstances recur. In Europe, the bearing of this affair on the Disarmament Conference was generally realized. If the League allowed its Covenant, its charter of collective security, to be torn up without serious consequences to the aggressor, with what assurance could it invite its members to disarm? China, when she is free to act on this lesson, will assuredly arm herself, if not for revenge, at least for safety. Must not every State, in one degree or another, take warning by her fate? Neither Covenant nor Pact has made it any safer to be weak. The economic argument for a general scaling down of armaments remains. But the law of force, the ability of a strong power to break the will of a weaker, survives and writes history. Note, I beg you, that this must poison the entire daily intercourse of States. There may not be another war for many years to come, but every ambassador of a Great Power, when he argues, will henceforth have a rifled tube for throat. One may still hope that promises to arbitrate will count for something, but no one can feel sure. Unless one is sure, one must arm.

Two answers are possible. It may be said that the League has followed Washington in adopting the principle of non-recognition. Japan may snatch what she pleases: no one will "recognize" her gains. She will none the less enjoy them, while the rest of us hide our heads in the sand. The profits of an unhampered and monopolized exploitation of the coal, iron, timber, oil-bearing shale and bean fields of Manchuria will flow in a rich stream to the banks of Osaka and Tokio. Non-recognition has been tried before. For nearly twenty years France refused to recognize the not dissimilar seizure of Egypt, only to trade eventual assent in return for British support in Morocco. Can you be sure that nothing of that kind will happen in this case, when Washington resumes its freedom of action in Guam and the Philippines under the Nine Power Treaty?

The second answer is that Japan's violence will bring its own penalty. Certainly there will be something to pay in shaken credit, high taxation and the loss of Chinese trade. But will her victims escape a like result? Shanghai lies in ruins. Mukden is paralyzed; half its population has fled: its once busy workers are standing in breadlines. These, however, may prove to be only the momentary consequences of the crisis. Is there really any serious reason to doubt that, given time, Japan can extract the fabulous wealth of these provinces?

Penalties in one form or another will come. But when they come, will they take a wholly pleasant form, designed to teach us that we live in a divinely ordered world? And will they fall only on Japan? One is compelled to make some guess as to Japanese long-range policy. I do not know whether to accept as genuine that all but incredible document, Baron Tanaka's memorandum; in England certain experts friendly to Japan uphold its authenticity. But even if one dismisses it as a forgery, can one doubt that the Seiyukai and the army intend (1) to hold Manchuria as tightly as Korea; (2) to lap up the two Mongolias also, and (3) from this base to dominate, terrorize and exploit the rest of China? How to cast the horoscope of China one does not know, but the gallantry of the Nineteenth Army at Shanghai is proof enough that if and when China can consolidate herself, whether under a Dictator, a Republic, or a Soviet, she will have the means to wage a not ineffectual war of revenge against her tormentor of today. In plain words, we are watching inactive the beginning of a vendetta which will curse Asia as the Franco-German feud has cursed Europe. Again, though I am sure that Soviet Russia will do everything possible to keep the peace today, I am equally sure that when the Five Year Plan has borne its fruit, she will not tamely suffer Japanese domination in the two Mongolias and north Manchuria, while any pronounced swing to the Left in China might break down her prudence somewhat earlier. The Third International is the rival of the League. If the League abdicates, it will, in due time, step in to take its place. I leave the American reader to answer the further question: how long in an Asia rent by Japanese violence, Chinese retaliation and Russian intervention, the American fleet could content itself with evolutions round Hawaii.

There remains the scruple expressed in the saying that boycott leads to war. War is a word that carries with it terrible memories, and has its connotations of greed, ambition and nationalism. But to apply it to an operation of this kind is to confuse thought. Let us not quibble over the question whether a boycott need involve a legal state of war. It is, I take it, rather the moral aspect that concerns us. War is morally detestable because it is in its essence the effort of a government to use constraint, for its own ends, against another. In this case, the whole civilized world, after a public hearing of both sides, determines according to a procedure which the wrongdoer himself accepted in advance, to use constraint for the general good. To call that war is surely to abuse language. A perfectly consistent anarchist may object, as he must, to every act of government. A non-resisting Christian pacifist of the Tolstoyan type may equally stand aloof. But the rest of us who believe in government can do so only on the ground that the sovereign national State is a supreme law to itself. That plea Japan cannot enter, since she signed the Covenant. Assuredly action involved risks, discomforts and losses. Against these we must balance the consequences of inaction—the ruin of the system of peace, the return of nations to the uncovenanted jungle, the certainty of a Chinese *revanche*, the possibility of Russian and American complications. It is, I think, improbable that a general boycott would involve warlike action to uphold law, but such a risk, with pooled resources, must be faced. But does quietism mean peace? To our thinking, from our European angle, it means chaos, anarchy and the probability of the indefinite continuance of wars in a world which will have scrapped the machinery of control and forgotten the habit of justice.

H. N. Brailsford.

London.

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CORRESPONDENCE

The Technique of the League

SIR: It is now quite the fashion to criticize the League of Nations for its seeming weakness and indecision in a time of crisis. "It touches nothing that it does not adjourn." May I submit that such criticism is based upon misunderstanding of the technique of the League. I have been very much struck by a review in The United States Law Review (February, 1932) of a book by Professor Edmund C. Mower on "International Government." The review quotes Professor Mower as follows, regarding the League of Nations:

> In no case has the Council appealed to force. Its method is that of counsel and conciliation; it endeavors to stimulate in the contending parties a sense of responsibility for international peace and their obligation under the Covenant to seek rational peace. This technique of the Council in dealing with international disputes often gives it the appearance of weakness, indecision and procrastination; it tenders advice when international peace seems to require the exercise of power. But its procedure in this regard has been as wise as it has been necessary—wise because international government has not yet advanced to the point where legalized resort to force by its constituted agencies can confidently rely upon the backing of public opinion, and necessary because as the Covenant now stands, the League of Nations commands no force save as the member states endow it therewith at the moment.

The reviewer then goes on to say:

> The handling of the Manchurian conflict by the League of Nations (subsequent to the publication of "International Government") furnishes evidence of how well the author has caught the spirit of the international government which we have.

WARREN O. AULT.

Boston University, Boston, Mass.

A Diplomatic History of Haiti

SIR: I would appreciate your allowing me to call the attention of your readers who are interested in Caribbean affairs to a valuable source book on Haiti which has had little if any notice in this country. It is by Abel-Nicolas Léger, now Foreign Minister of Haiti, and is entitled "Histoire Diplomatique d'Haiti." It is published, in French, by Aug. A. Heraux, Port-au-Prince, Haiti. It is in two volumes, the first of which, covering the period 1804-1859, appeared some time ago. The second has yet to appear. It is a thoroughly documented account of Haiti's relations with foreign governments from the period of the revolution against France on to her intricate relations with the United States and other nations later in her career. Minister Léger is the son of the late J. N. Léger, historian and long Haitian Minister to the United States, whom Lord Bryce, British Ambassador, called the most brilliant diplomat he had ever known.

New York City. HAROLD N. DENNY.

Elysian Programs in California

SIR: Apropos of your editorial in the issue of March 9, I may remark that the Standard Oil Company of California has for more than four years done just what you long for in some "Elysian time"—namely, given Pacific Coast radio listeners "one solid hour of good music, with no interruption whatever except the announcement of the station required by law." These "Standard Symphony" concerts are played alternately by the San Francisco Symphony Orchestra and the Los Angeles Philharmonic Orchestra, with a good substitute orchestra, made up of symphony players, during the summer vacations, and are broadcast over the National Broadcasting Company's Pacific Coast stations every Thusday evening at 8:15 (Pacific time).

Naturally, I hold no brief for the Standard Oil Company, but it is only fair to give honor where honor is due. In fact I have come to the conclusion that Eastern listeners must be in a far worse case than we are in the West, for we have no difficulty in finding a number of broadcasts weekly of a high artistic standard, without an undue amount of advertising. This among "sponsored" programs alone—to say nothing of such fine "presentation" programs (from the East, let me add) as the Metropolitan Opera broadcasts, the Damrosch concerts and the New York Philharmonic concerts. Things are bad, but they might be worse—especially, it would seem, for us fortunate dwellers in the Far West!

Sausalito, Calif. MAYNARD SHIPLEY.

American Exports to Japan

SIR: Recent American-government reports indicate that during seven months of the current "cotton season" of 1931 Japan purchased from the United States nearly two and one-third times as much cotton as she did during the same period in 1930. This confirms the previous reports of large cotton shipments to Japan which have led some people to think that Japan was laying in cotton supplies to make munitions for a protracted war. Some of the cotton may have been bought for this purpose. Most of the extra large purchases, however, were for industrial uses.

As early as last spring, it seemed probable that before very much longer it would be necessary again to impose an embargo on the export of gold from Japan. Such a move would be followed, it was fully realized, by a sharp drop in the international exchange value of the yen. When that drop came, goods bought abroad would cost more in Japanese money. Consequently, the cotton manufacturers and other industrialists began to prepare to lay in extra large stocks of foreign raw materials while these could be purchased with yen approximately at par. The bankers also began buying exceptionally large amounts of foreign currencies. The Japanese military moves in China last autumn made it certain that the gold-export embargo would be imposed comparatively soon. Therefore industrialists and bankers rushed their purchases of foreign raw materials and currencies. That is why Japan's cotton purchases were so heavy. The war moves were comparatively little and only indirectly responsible.

That is why, too, Japanese purchases of cotton and other raw materials from the United States in 1932 will probably be much lighter than normal. Japan now has on hand virtually enough cotton to last her for a full year without buying any more in 1932, for example. American cotton exports to Japan this year, therefore, almost certainly will be very much below normal and still further below 1931 purchases. So will American exports of various other goods be below normal. War or no war, Japan's cotton and other raw-material purchases in the United States would have been exceptionally heavy in 1931—and correspondingly light in 1932.

This bears directly on one phase of the consumers' boycott of Japanese goods by Americans which now is being started. It is possible that the Japanese will retaliate against such a boycott by buying less American goods than they otherwise might. But it will be a serious misinterpretation of the situation to say that the sharp drop in American exports to Japan which is almost certain to come in 1932 will be due primarily to such Japanese retaliation. There is no possible way by which the share of that drop, due to extra large purchases in 1931, can be distinguished from a possible share due to a retaliatory refusal to buy American goods. But in discussions of this point it should be remembered that American exports to Japan would have dropped off sharply in 1932 even if there had been no military moves by Japan in China and hence no boycott by Americans of Japanese goods and no retaliatory refusal by Japanese to buy American goods.

GROVER CLARK.

New York City

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Spring Book Section

The Sunset Glow of Individualism

Expression in America, by Ludwig Lewisohn. New York: Harper and Brothers. 624 pages. $4.

HITHERTO even our best histories of American literature have been faintly suggestive of the scrapbook and the filing cabinet. Mr. Lewisohn writes as if no one had ever written of these American authors before, as if he had read their books just yesterday and was eager to tell us what he thought about them. He writes freshly and personally and very well indeed. He writes out of a full knowledge of his field, and he has in addition such a vivid awareness of the literature of other countries as puts the professional scholar to shame. His book is better than his principles, and there is not an author he mentions about whom he does not say something fruitful.

In his preface he states, "I have, then, it is clear, a kind of history of literature in mind that shall limit itself to the record of essential expressions of the spirit of man." In accordance with this program he surveys in a single chapter the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and the first third of the nineteenth, and in a second chapter examines the genteel tradition from Longfellow to Brander Matthews. Personal prejudice, of course, enters into these first two chapters, a recollection of what he himself has suffered at the hands of the exponents of Puritanism and gentility. But, though some comments may be unnecessarily bitter, he is surely right in disposing thus briskly of the great body of colonial literature and the mass of polite writings of the last hundred years.

Thanks to his summarization at the outset, he is able to deal at length with the men who are worthy of such analysis. His chapter on Emerson and Thoreau observes, as most discussions fail to do, that it is only by a process of revaluation that their importance for our day can be established. He is eloquent on the subject of Poe, not altogether clear in his treatment of Hawthorne, and much less than just to Melville. On Whitman he is discriminating, and here, as elsewhere, he has the courage to illustrate by quotation his conception of both achievement and failure. He is surprisingly aware of Howells' virtues, so frequently neglected, and, if he fails to justify his assertion that James is "the most eminent man of letters America has yet to show," he has written wisely about him. Though the later chapters, which discuss many minor figures of the past forty years, rather belie his intention of dealing only with "essential expressions of the spirit of man," the inconsistency enhances the value of the book for his contemporaries. He is at his best in his analysis of the More-Mencken controversy; he is interesting on all the naturalistic novelists; he is admirable on Cabell, not bad on Willa Cather and Eugene O'Neill, and ingenious on Vachel Lindsay.

But of course this is not merely the record of the adventures of a soul among masterpieces and near-masterpieces. It is not merely an account of what books Lewisohn enjoys, but also an account of how they came to be written. "It was equally inevitable," he writes, with that touch of pompousness that invades his style whenever he mentions [illegible] knowledge associated with the venerated name of Sigmund Freud." Hence we find scattered about the book such phrases as "defensive rationalization," "psychical and physical masochist," "compensatory fantasy," "feigned substitute for the mother-womb," *"Schuldgefühl,"* "unconscious homo-erotic wishes," and "homosexual's atavistic subconscious memories of the men's house in primitive societies." We learn that Poe suffered from "a trauma sustained in infancy," that Emerson, Thoreau and James had little sexual vitality, that Hawthorne and Melville had mother fixations, that Howells was repressed, and that entire literary movements may be explained on the basis of "group neuroses."

It is needless to say that any method which may provide insight into human conduct should not be disregarded. Though we may wish Freud could give us more, we must gratefully accept whatever it is he can give. But we cannot be satisfied, as Lewisohn sometimes is, with the mere juggling of words, and we cannot escape the realization that at best the Freudian method can explain but a small portion of the mental processes whence literature springs. Lewisohn, for example, makes a virtue of saying frankly that Whitman was a homosexual, but he does not show how his homosexuality influenced "Leaves of Grass." Emerson's low sexual vitality may or may not be an explanation of certain of his weaknesses; it obviously does not explain his central strength. If the excellence of "The Scarlet Letter" is due to Hawthorne's "happy and harmonious union with Sophia Peabody," why is "The House of the Seven Gables" "all texture, all atmosphere, quite without bone or muscle"? Why should a "powerful mother fixation" make Melville a weak, petulant writer and Moody a strong and noble one? Because, says Lewisohn, Moody "reacted creatively and not neurotically." Words, words!

This reliance on Freudianism, even when its weaknesses are patent, is all the more striking because of Lewisohn's rejection of all explanations of literary activity in terms of environmental forces. "In the study and interpretation of the arts," he writes, "we can dismiss in respect of the individual's possibility of expression and his special approach to it, the pressure of environment." Again: "Of environment the influence is so doubtful and confusing in all but superficial matters as to be negligible." Can he mean this? Can he mean what he says in the preface, that the experience of the modern poet is "wholly individual" and takes shape "under the informing law of the individual creative mind"?

One asks if Lewisohn can mean this, not only because he has argued so vehemently in his novels that the individual develops fully only as part of a cultural unit, but also because so much that he says in this book contradicts the extreme individualism of the passages just quoted. He points out in one place, for example, that the collective culture of his time and place is the writer's necessary material, whether he revolts against it or accepts it. In another he says that the artist is "part of the collectivity even as rebel and revolutionary; he is mouthpiece first of his clan and race and city, next of all mankind." But are not clan and race and city parts of a man's environment? If he is their

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mouthpiece, is he not vitally influenced by them? And if he is mouthpiece for his clan, race and city, is he not also mouthpiece for his class?

Moreover, Mr. Lewisohn does refer from time to time to the influence of political and economic forces on literature. He heads a chapter, for example, "Demos Speaks." He mentions Mark Twain's indebtedness to the frontier and the influence on Howells of the section and class in which he was born. He explains the conflict between Babbitt and Spingarn in sociological terms; he shows how More's critical views are associated with political conservatism; he asserts that economic security is a foe to critical excellence. It is true that he recognizes his inconsistency and tries to save himself by saying, "The environment, age, country, culture, climate, has everything to do with determining the existence and entire character of the work of both the bard and, above all, the artificer." But, even granting that Lewisohn is right in believing the creative spirit unique, which is obviously not the case, we may point out that he has himself used sociological explanations in dealing with "essential expressions of the spirit of man."

One does not object, of course, to these sociological explanations; one only wishes there were more of them. If Lewisohn had been willing to pay a little more attention to economic forces, as they shape the ideologies of the various classes, he might have explained the peculiar dominance of Puritanism in America and the survival of many Puritan qualities. He might have shown why the genteel tradition arose and why it has persisted. He could have found a much better interpretation than Freud can give him of the weaknesses of Emerson and Thoreau, and he could have discovered in Whitman's class background a better clue to his virtues and defects than he was able to discover in his homosexuality. He could have dealt far more cogently with those two paradoxical persons, Henry Adams and Henry James, and he could have avoided the confusion that permeates his discussion of contemporary literature.

It is apparent that Lewisohn went out of his way, just as far out as he possibly could, to avoid coming to grips with the problem of class alignments and their influence on literature. He regards himself as a complete individualist and declares that "all creative spirits are necessarily heretics." Why he holds this opinion can easily be seen by anyone who has read "Upstream" and "Mid-Channel." Though by birth, culture and training a member of the bourgeoisie, Lewisohn was, on racial grounds, repudiated by the bourgeoisie of America. He became, of necessity, heretic and rebel. Yet, as his novels so clearly show, he was not satisfied with his individualism; he wanted to belong to something. But he was not willing to face the fact that there is only one alternative to belonging to the bourgeoisie.

So he has been divided. On the one side there is his individualism, which expresses itself both in a noble love of liberty and in a petulant contempt for instrumentalism as a philosophy, behaviorism as a psychology and communism as a form of social organization, as well as for any explanation of literature in terms of social forces. On the other side there is his insistence that individualism is not enough, his scorn for "the rebel who has nothing but his rebellion," his recognition that "liberty means a new principle of action." He knows that individualism is petering out as a literary force, and his whole discussion of the writers whom he groups in the chapter called "Beyond Naturalism"—Cabell, Cather, O'Neill and the like—is a record of his failure as well as theirs. Yet he cannot, at this late date and isolated as he is from the American scene, take the step that would genuinely liberate him.

It is sad to note even in this book evidences that Lewisohn's individualism not only involves him in contradictions, but actually is cutting away the man's integrity. His humanitarian zeal, once so strong and admirable, withers away: like so many good liberals, he is moved to attack one social evil in America and one only, prohibition. He is taking refuge also, one notices, in metaphysical vagaries. He believes in reconciliation to "the suffering but not overwhelmed spirit of man," whatever that may mean, in "inherent values," in an "absolute" liberty of life and art. He says in one place that religion is necessary to art and in another indicates that it is dying. He is suspiciously impressed by the new physics as well as the new psychology. What else could one expect? Here as everywhere we find evidences of the breakdown of liberalism and individualism. But these lamentable symptoms, after all, concern us less at the moment than the fact that, if individualism is declining, here is surely one of the glories of its twilight.

GRANVILLE HICKS.

Bernard Shaw and the War

What I Really Wrote About the War, by Bernard Shaw. New York: Brentano's. 371 pages. $3.75.

IN CALLING this book 'What I Really Wrote About the War,'" Bernard Shaw says at the end, "I have exposed myself to the obvious repartee, 'Does it matter?' My reply is that it does."

But the fact that he should even have imagined this impertinent question's being asked shows that he must have been touched by a doubt. And the truth is that, though Shaw's pamphlets and articles with his running commentary on them, make a readable and interesting book, they leave one with an impression of futility.

Even the commentary cannot save them. Shaw's continual self-explanations, valuable in his early days when he was being stupidly attacked and his point of view was not understood, have come today to look like smoke-screens against criticism. Shaw is so plausible when he talks about himself, he has such an incomparable gift of gab, that we take him at his own valuation. He can always by a few pages of explanation arrange the lights so that, when the curtain goes up, he is seen in the center of the stage looking noble, and he has thus become practically criticism-proof. He seems to put people in a position where they either have to take him or leave him.

Yet what was the use of that long preface to the Ellen Terry letters? When we come to read the letters, we judge the situation for ourselves and we are a little bit bored to remember Shaw's efforts to disarm the disapproval of deaconesses and churchwardens. And why did he insist on appending that long postscript to Frank Harris' book about him after Harris had passed out of the picture? Frank Harris, in spite of all his faults of accuracy and taste—and in spite of plagiarizing Archibald Henderson and palming off a picture of Robert Bridges as a portrait of Shaw in his youth—was one of the only critics of Shaw who hadn't been buffaloed by the master's explanations; but, unwilling that Harris should have the last word, Shaw quickly steps in at the end and suavely explains away his strictures by assuring us that the dear fellow was an incorrigible romantic and not to be trusted in practical matters.

And so here the introductions and postscripts with which he cements his self-

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to make them look a smooth and solid whole and to show the naturalness and logic of a position which in reality was ambiguous and which must have put Shaw to considerable pains to defend it. Shaw has, of course, always been a Socialist and his real interpretation of the War was Marxist:

> Will you now at last believe [he wrote in one of the most eloquent passages of "Common Sense About the War"] O stupid British, German and French patriots, what the Socialists have been telling you for so many years: that your Union Jacks and tricolors and Imperial Eagles ("where the carcase is, there will the eagles be gathered") are only toys to keep you amused, and that there are only two real flags in the world henceforth: the red flag of Democratic Socialism and the black flag of Capitalism, the flag of God and the flag of Mammon? What earthly or heavenly good is done when Tom Fool shoots Hans Narr? The plain fact is that if we leave our capital to be dealt with according to the selfishness of the private man he will send it where wages are low and workers enslaved and docile: that is, as many thousand miles as possible from the Trade Unions and Trade Union rates and parliamentary Labor parties of civilization; and Germany, at his sordid behest, will plunge the world into war for the sake of disgracing herself with a few rubber plantations, poetically described by her orators and journalists as "a place in the sun." When you do what the Socialists tell you by keeping your capital jealously under national control and reserving your shrapnel for the wasters who not only shirk their share of the industrial service of their country, but intend that their children and children's children shall be idle wasters like themselves, you will find that not a farthing of our capital will go abroad as long as there is a British slum to be cleared and rebuilt or a hungry, ragged and ignorant British child to be fed, clothed and educated.

None the less, "Common Sense" ends with exhortations to prosecute the War as vigorously as possible, and Shaw, though he criticized the government, never ceased to support it. He even did some propaganda work and accepted an official invitation to visit the front: he enjoyed himself, he tells us, immensely and came back to write a series of articles on war landscapes and the boys in the trenches. He writes, in discussing compulsory military service:

> In my own case, the question of conscientious objection did not arise: I was past military age. I did not counsel others to object, and should not have objected myself if I had been liable to serve; for intensely as I loathed the War, and free as I was from any illusion as to its character, and from the patriotic urge (patriotism in my native country taking the form of an implacable hostility to England), I knew that when war is once let loose, and it becomes a question of kill or be killed, there is no stopping to argue about it: one must just stand by one's neighbors and take a hand with the rest. If England had adopted me, as some of my critics alleged in their attempts to convict me of gross ingratitude, I could have pleaded that she must take the consequences without claiming any return; but as I had practically adopted England by thrusting myself and my opinions on her in the face of every possible rebuff, it was for me to take the consequences, which certainly included an obligation to help my reluctant ward in her extremity as far as my means allowed.

But certainly there were other courses open to a person of Shaw's radical views. In his postscript to Frank [illegible] years of college, where he also mastered mathematics as

to ask himself the first question . . . of the intellectually honest judicious critic, 'What else could I have done had it been my own case?' " In the matter of the War, which Harris had reproached Shaw for supporting so staunchly, he might have answered: "Do as I did—protest and let them put you out." Or he could have expressed his disapproval and shut up, as John Morley and others did. But it is impossible for Shaw to shut up, and the result was that he went on talking all through the four years' massacre.

What Shaw had to say was intelligent and it required some courage to say it. Beside most of the British writers, he seemed a marvel of honesty and coolness. The atmosphere was feverish with panic and stupefying with the fumes of propaganda, and Shaw did do something to clear the air for realistic discussion of the origins and aims of the War. But when we reread what he wrote today, he looks a little foolish. We see him talking and talking amid the universal outcry in tones which run the whole gamut of the challenging, the passionate, the reasonable, the appealing, the caustic, the tragic, the good-humored and the resounding—remonstrating, scolding, exhorting, making fun of the politicians and at the same time lending a hand to the government, pleading for the conscientious objectors and at the same time "joy-riding at the front"—and doing everything with equal cockiness. Before the Peace Conference, he had great hopes of Wilson. Before the Washington Disarmament Conference, he was cynical. Later, he spoke a kind word for the League of Nations.

He was sagacious all along and what he wrote may still be read with profit. But the chief reflection which presents itself to us as we read "What I Really Wrote About the War" is that there will be no place in the future for Socialists who support nationalistic wars.

EDMUND WILSON.

Bending the Twig

The Theory of Education in the United States, by Albert Jay Nock. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 160 pages. $2.

THIS VOLUME contains the trenchant lectures given by Mr. Nock at the University of Virginia in 1931. Mr. Nock always knows his own mind and conveys it to the reader with a clarity of expression equal to its vigor. He has convictions about the past, present and future of education in the United States; beliefs that are clear-cut and assured beyond any shadow of doubt or blurring of edges. Some who are not gifted in generalizing on *a priori* grounds will, indeed, wonder if there is anything human about which one can be as certain as Mr. Nock is about American education.

Behind us in the past was the Great Tradition. It committed the student in his early years to the acquisition of the three R's; after that time, the staples were Latin, Greek and mathematics. The study of the elements of the two languages was begun early; it went on along with arithmetic and algebra nearly all the way through the primary school, and all the way through the secondary; when a student arrived at the college doors, he could read anything in either language and could write in both. Henceforth he dealt with the languages from the literary point of view, and he went on to cover practically the whole range of Greek and Latin literature in the four

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The result was disciplinary and formative, the disciplinary effect having never been seriously disputed, at least so far as Mr. Nock knows. The formative influence was such that a man who had had this education instinctively viewed "any contemporary phenomenon from the vantage point of an immensely long perspective attained through this profound and weighty experience of the human spirit" —a statement which is at least an inspiring summary of what education should be and do, whether or not it has much relevancy as a record of the usual outcome of the type of education described.

As far as colleges and universities are concerned, the Great Tradition (Mr. Nock never forgets the capitalization) lasted till about thirty-five years ago. Now it is dead in this country. In the old education (the word "old" is superfluous, since, according to Mr. Nock, the old type alone *is* education), each educational unit kept absolutely in its own bailiwick; there was no overlapping, no going back to previous units to patch up deficiencies, and no reaching ahead to anticipate later developments. Moreover, the curricula at each level were invariable in content and uniform for all students. All knowledge was treated as formative, and not as a means to doing something or getting somewhere. There was a sharp division between training and education, for the whole system was selective; it enforced the rejection of all pupils but those with minds that were educable. (This statement provides, by the way, a satisfactory criterion for Mr. Nock's purposes. If a skeptic were to point out that the benefits which Mr. Nock claims for the three R's, Latin, Greek and mathematics system were confined, at a liberal estimate, to one student out of fifty, there is a final answer: The forty-nine others were the uneducable minds, the chaff that the system automatically winnowed out.)

It is hardly necessary, says Mr. Nock, to point out how different is the present situation. The modern American college and university are entirely different in structure, function and intention from the institutions historically entitled to the name. They are not associations of scholars, but associations, more or less sprawling, of pedagogues, upon whom the whole burden of learning has been shifted from the students, who formerly had to assume it. The repertory reaches back into secondary schools and ahead into professional schools. The subject matter is mainly "practical"; the institutions are "vocationalized"—Mr. Flexner's recent book being cited for evidence—the universities give drug-store education. The only educated persons in this country are either over sixty years of age or else were educated in Europe. Moreover, the non-professional scholar has disappeared. We have perhaps some persons who are eminent in science, and more who are conspicuous because of ballyhoo. But we have no ingrained respect for science and, in any case, science is out of account, not being included within the Great Tradition.

The theory underlying our present system of education had its origin in a sentiment which was engaging and honorable—the desire of our forefathers that their children should have a better chance at the humane and good life than they themselves. But the theory has led to unfortunate results, since it is based on three false conceptions—of equality, of democracy, and of the relation of literacy to public order and good government. Equality has been perverted into the notion that everybody is educable and that no person should aspire to anything which is not within the reach of all. Democracy has come to [illegible] republican or non-monarchical, while democracy is economic in nature, being a doctrine of public property, of diffusion of ownership, which does not obtain in many republican countries. Because of the perversions of equality and democracy, we have the belief that "democracy must regulate itself by the lowest common denominator of intelligence, taste and character," and that the schools should give people "what they want." The third element in the theory results in an absurd and fantastic exaggeration of the political value of literacy.

For a time we endeavored to maintain the Great Tradition along with an attempt, based on our underlying theory, to educate everybody. Since only a few are educable, the two purposes could not be harmonized. Consequently training was substituted for education, for all persons *are* capable of being trained. The outcome is our system of "practical," vocational schools, with their dilutions of knowledge and their substitution of instrumental for formative and cultural knowledge. Training is worth while for the mass and should be encouraged; but the schools which give it have no title to the name of colleges and universities.

Probably many persons will need no more then the summary just given, largely in Mr. Nock's own language, to turn away from the book. It contains at least as much fantastic exaggeration as is attributed to the American faith in literacy. Since I was educated (or at least trained) in the period which antedates Mr. Nock's revolution, and since I have been meeting teachers and students in the long intervening years, I may put on record my own conviction that the number of scholarly teachers and of students who conform to Mr. Nock's conception of education has increased in that period. Since the total number of attendants at college has enormously increased, the number of idlers and of those who attend for purely "social" reasons, in the conventional sense, has also grown. So has the number who go to college for technical and professional reasons. But I doubt if the ratio of the latter has increased. Whatever the Great Tradition was in theory, it was, as a matter of cold fact, largely a vocational preparation for the ministry and for teaching. What has happened is that the number of callings for which schools prepare has greatly multiplied. And, apart from vocational ends, the great mass got only "training" from their Latin, Greek and mathematics.

Since there is no arguing about facts, I merely record these opinions in distinction from the equally dogmatic opinions set forth by Mr. Nock. Since anything Mr. Nock writes is worth pondering both for its style (though in the present work his literary manner is often more reminiscent of Mathew Arnold's than of his own) and for substance, it is to be hoped that the extreme exaggeration of his book will not repel educators and trainers from giving it serious consideration. Although Mr. Nock does not appear aware of the fact, it raises, or should be used to raise, vital questions. Mr. Nock is under no illusions as to the country's economic system. He suggests, accordingly, although he does not expressly discuss, the question whether the narrow pecuniary utilitarianism which affects much of our so-called vocational training is inherent in vocations or is the reflex effect of our economic system. Do the schools give what the people actually "want," or what economic overlords think it best for them to have? If we had a democratic system—which, as Mr. Nock sees and says, is an economic affair—would the divorce between

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what it now is? Since return to the so-called narrow classical system is wholly out of question, and since it never was what it has come to be in Mr. Nock's idealizing nostalgia, these are indications of vital questions which are suggested by this book. Its author has positive notions about the number of human beings who are educable. I do not believe that we shall know the number, nor shall we be able to select those who are educable, whatever their number, until the cultural environment is different. For, while educability is a matter of native endowment, it is also a matter of the prevailing social state of culture. Since the cultural environment is, in turn, profoundly affected by economic factors, why not try democracy, in the sense of Mr. Nock, before dogmatizing upon who is educable and what are the sole means by which an education can be had?

JOHN DEWEY.

Goethe: Man or Monad?

Goethe: Man and Poet, by Henry W. Nevinson. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 256 pages. $2.75.

WITH THE exception of Heinemann's and F. Hume Brown's large works, which are in the main comprehensive and accurate stories of Goethe's life and environment, and of R. M. Meyer's and Bielschowski's, which emphasize more the man of letters, the more recent Goethe biographies have served the purpose of bending the significance of Goethe's personality, ideas and art to certain preconceived views of life. The bulky volume of Gundolf and the smaller one of Simmel attempt to carry a modern combination of Kantian with Romantic speculative absolutism to its utmost limits. Both undertake, in a curious, apparently unconscious reversion to the medieval doctrine of "substance," to uncover the *"Urphänomen,"* the absolutely first appearance in the "world," of the essence of Goethe's personality as that essence is assumed —on wholly preconceived notions—to be constituted in a sphere lying beyond space and time: *i. e.*, the absolute monad Goethe which is postulated to be in no wise conditioned by its biological and cultural environment, but to predetermine all the functions of the environment. Their disregard of the unlimited receptivity and insatiable assimilative power which were distinguishing characteristics of Goethe's mind, leads to a fantastic mythology unacceptable and not even interesting to a genetic view that seeks communicable understanding, rather than incantations in the name of the "daemonic" and spells wrought in the lurid night of rhetorical "irrationality" where the genie of "polarity" is loose and the Wagners of "Faust" are even as Dionysus.

Emil Ludwig's "Goethe," on the other hand, represents a type of preconception which deforms the poet into an all-too-earthly creature, such as is left of Goethe if he is mirrored in a mind equipped with a very fragmentary and superficial acquaintance with the epochal ideas which produced the cultural physiognomy of the poet and his age; a mind obsessed with its own notion of Goethe's relations with women and leaping in gay nonchalance any gap or obstacle in the evidence.

Henry W. Nevinson, in "Goethe: Man and Poet," avoids both arbitrary abstract preoccupations and the dead load of petty detail. He ignores the iterations of the iterations of the iterations of a few really very elementary abstract notions borrowed from Kantian and Romantic [illegible] and the rich creative work to the killing monotony and poverty of a few infinitely tiresome and empty "eternal" commonplaces endlessly repeated. He rejects the pretentious and illusory pseudo-scientific knock-out evidence that is drawn from arbitrary premises and inconclusive data. He keeps clear of the factualistic irrelevancies and vagaries which try to grub the meanings of works of literature from actual events and occurrences—from literal data which may have started the external impulse that worked itself out in an integral creative experience, but which are not even akin to that experience. He heeds the lines in which Faust characterizes, in the person of Wagner, alas! in vain the very tribe that has labored ever since to Wagnerize Faust:

> With greedy hand for treasure he will grub;
> Earth worms he finds, and how he does rejoice!

Nevinson treats Goethe as one does an admired and loved friend. Persons of taste do not tell their friends whose sensitive insight they respect: "I know better than you what was in your mind, what was your intention, what were your thoughts and feelings when you did or wrote this or that. I have the conclusive evidence. I have the technique of understanding which is beyond you." Yet this insufferable self-assurance, this lack of taste, this pride of a pseudo-objectivity that is nothing but the naïve subjectivity of obtuse minds, is one of the commonest characteristics of the torrential academic writings on Goethe.

Nevinson knows his Goethe. He has read and understands him as all great literature must be understood: as the only, the best and richest way into kindred experience, which the great poet alone has the high intelligence and gift of expression to realize and embody in enduring form, yet in which the less creative but discerning and comprehending mind can truly participate through intelligent and concentrated absorption in the poet's utterance.

Mr. Nevinson has more relevant knowledge, and in the convenient space of 250 pages, than most of the self-confessed extreme knowers. He is a thoroughly cultured man of letters, having the gentle, sympathetic temper, the courteous reserve and the discerning style of those whose minds have been nurtured all their lives by great literature. This temper appears typically in his discussion of Goethe's relations with Frau von Stein. After a brief but justly sensitive analysis of the passionate intensification of Goethe's tone in the letters written from the end of 1781 to the spring of 1782, he concludes: "The solution must be left to the judgment of those who have best known the hearts and minds of conspicuous and high-souled men and women passionately devoted to each other." That is a golden sentence. How utterly vulgar beside it are the cocksure guesses of Ludwig and the Q.E.D.'s of the "knowers!"

Another passage characteristic of Mr. Nevinson's good taste is: "That weary habit of contrasting the two [Schiller and Goethe] and attaching such meaningless terms as 'realist' and 'idealist' in praise or condemnation, was already beginning"—and, one might add, is still making life a burden to the conscientious teacher who tries in vain to clarify the muddle caused by it in the minds of his students, who no more than Orestes from the Furies can escape from it in the academic biographies, commentaries and essays they are forced to use.

There is one significant limitation in Mr. Nevinson's account, which is, however, not necessarily a shortcoming. His genetic perspective of Goethe's creative ideas is rather

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indifference to the specific occasion and reference of some of Goethe's generalizations sometimes ignores the fact that these generalizations frequently changed meaning with the passage of time, together with Goethe's varying associations and with fundamental alterations in his view of life. Goethe, in describing "Faust," the first part of which represents three distinct phases of his mental development superimposed one upon another, as "incommensurable," himself acknowledged such ultimate discrepancies.

Yet, even if we recognize this, we have not proved Mr. Nevinson essentially wrong. The meaning of any work of poetry, of any art, is not bound to the external facts or the internal mental conditions which constituted the occasion of its origin. When we listen to *Gretchen am Spinnrade,* we do not have the biographical records of Goethe and Friederike Brion of Sesenheim, or Gretchen of Frankfurt, on our knees. A deadly feature of the factualism which has been strangling the humanities in our higher institutions of learning has been this literalistic restriction. Poetry, all art, is self-sufficient. Its legitimate meaning is only that and all that which is an essential part of its utterance. Other meanings, in both the forms of extension and restriction, are not primary, not essentially revelant. They are valid only in so far as they are accredited by the primary legitimate intrinsic meaning of a work of art. The fundamental difference between the meanings essential to poetry and the arts, on the one hand, and the meanings of factual knowledge, on the other, is that in poetry and art the statement itself is the final evidence, whereas in factual knowledge the evidence must consist of data independent of the statement.

The reason for this is clear: Only in his most accomplished works does the creative artist rise to his greatest powers of understanding, truthfulness and adequate utterance. The statement of a poem as such is more ultimate, complete and precise evidence of its meaning or content than could be any other so-called "objective," external evidence, such as letters, accounts of conversations or any other documentary records or gossip. Hence any meaning yielded by a discriminating interpretation of a given poem is legitimate for the reader, even if it is no longer true to its author!

The factualistic notion arose from the ancient theory that art is imitation of nature, *i.e.,* of external facts, either in literal concreteness or in the more generalized form of "ideas." Every work of art, however, is an integral expression of a total, complex inward experience involving the whole of the mind, including emotion, passion, thought, will, imagination, perception. Even though it has been started by some external stimulus, it is not an imitation of a factual reality and cannot be measured by factual evidence. It is itself an ultimate integral mental original.

Mr. Nevinson thus becomes a valuable ally of those who are engaged in the present losing struggle for the security of the humanities in our higher education and culture.

MARTIN SCHUTZE.

ODE

Why will they never sleep
Those great women who sit
Peering at me with parrot eyes?
They sit with grave knees; they keep
Perpetual stare; and their hands move
As though hands could be aware—
Forward and back, to begin again—
As though on tumultuous shuttles of wind
They wove shrouds out of air.

The three are sisters. There is one
Who sits divine in weeping stone
On a small chair made of skeleton
And is most inescapable.
I have walked through many mirrors
But always accompanied.
I have been as many men, as many ghosts,
As there were days. The boy was seen
As through rainfall, mistily, not lost.
I have tried changing shapes
But always, alone, I have heard
Her shadow coming nearer, and known
The awful grasp of striding hands
Goddess! upon
The screaming metamorphosis.

One has a face burned hard
As the red Cretan clay
Who wears a white torso scarred
With figures like a calendar.
She sits among broken shafts
Of stone; she is and still will be
Who feeds on cities, gods and men
Swords of bronze and curious ornaments
Reckoning the evens as the odds.
Her least movement recalls the sea.

The last has idiot teeth
And a brow not made
For any thought but suffering.
Tired, she repeats
In idiot singing
A song shaped like a ring:
"Now is now and never Then
Dead virgins will bear no men
And now that we speak of love, of love,
The woman's beneath
That's burdened with love
And the man's above
While the thing is done and done.
One is one and Three is three
Children may come from a spark in the sun
But One is one and never Three
And never a Virgin shall bear a son
While the shadow lasts of the gray ashtree."

Phantasmal marbles!

There was One who might have saved
Me from these grave dissolute stones
And parrot eyes. But He is dead.
Christ is dead. And in a grave
Dark as a sightless skull He lies
And of His bones are charnels made.

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Wilson's Prime Minister

Crowded Years: The Reminiscences of William G. McAdoo. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 542 pages. $5.

ALTHOUGH Mr. McAdoo was born in Tennessee and grew up in Georgia, in the ruined South after the Civil War, he escaped the curse of futility which fell upon so many of that generation. His Scotch blood told. At twelve he entered business, working in a Milledgeville general store and running a newspaper route. Then his father was called to a professorship at the University of Tennessee; William was able to get a college education and to study law. At twenty-one he went to the Democratic Convention in Chicago, appeared before the Tennessee delegation, nominated himself for a vacancy as alternate—and was elected. "I have never had any backwardness about talking to strangers," he remarks. "When I believe in anything I am not afraid to tell people about it."

Most of all, McAdoo believed in himself. Still in his early twenties, he obtained an option on the Knoxville street-car line and went to Philadelphia bankers with a plan of electrification. He sold them the bonds and they ultimately took over the company, into which McAdoo had put all his own money. Then he went to New York and after some years of practising law and selling securities he thought of building a tunnel under the North River. Once more his self-confidence triumphed. He talked the money out of Pliny Fiske and J. P. Morgan, and built the tubes. By the time he was forty-five, the McAdoo tunnels had made him a national figure.

In Mr. McAdoo's character as drawn by himself there is a mixture of realism and idealism:

> When I first conceived the notion of boring under the Hudson River [he says], my chief motive was to make money for myself; close behind came a secondary desire to perform a public service, to accomplish something that would be of material benefit to people generally. But as time went on, another motive—a more compelling one appeared. I experienced a sense of inner compulsion, a driving desire to do the thing for its own sake. It was also a challenge to do what was supposed to be impossible.

This imaginative impulse was stimulated by contact with Woodrow Wilson. McAdoo threw himself into the business of getting Wilson nominated and elected and then, as Secretary of the Treasury, into carrying through his policies. The story of the Federal Reserve Act he tells impartially, giving himself credit for acting as a scarecrow and, by pretending to favor turning the Treasury into a rediscount bank, frightening the bankers into accepting the regional plan. After the War broke out, he obtained the passage of the Shipping Bill, but only after a year's delay, during which the cost of ships increased enormously. He is right in his judgment that "at least one billion dollars would have been saved if the Republicans in Congress, backed by profiteering shipping concerns, had not prevented the passage of the Shipping Bill at the session of 1914-15."

Mr. McAdoo's services to the Wilson administration are too numerous and various to be rehearsed in detail. He claims credit for the nomination of Vice President Marshall, of Justice Brandeis, of Secretary Baker. He put over the sales of the Liberty Bonds; he suggested and carried through the immense insurance plan for soldiers [illegible] of the War Finance Corporation, sand miles of railroads. His relation to Wilson was in fact much like that of a premier to a sovereign, carrying on the President's government. And in the course of this administration he gave the most important demonstration in our history of government in control of business. Whatever criticisms may be made of his conduct in these many functions, it must be admitted that the Treasury Department was free from the egregious scandals which existed in departments where business controlled government.

Since Mr. McAdoo was the agent in lending vast sums to the Allies, a special interest attaches to his view of those transactions. He admits that the administration was badly scared by the account which the commissions of Great Britain, France and Italy gave of their desperate plight. With the fear of defeat and above all the necessity of keeping the War popular with business by giving the Allies plenty of money to spend in this country, it is probable that the loans were unnecessarily large, and there was assuredly no inquiry made as to capacity to pay. Mr. McAdoo is perfectly correct when he says: "I do not overstate the fact that, if the American people had not been convinced of the good faith and honor of the borrowing governments, the United States would never have been able to sell its bonds to its own people for the purpose of making these foreign loans." In a business transaction, however, faith and honor are morally represented by something more tangible than an I.O.U.

His plan of collecting the debts is chimerical. He would accept from Great Britain and France their Caribbean possessions for part of the obligation, and bonds in their railroads and industrial enterprises for the rest. What would the American people, who bought Liberty Bonds and are now being taxed to pay them, get out of having their flag hoisted over more West Indian islands? Mr. McAdoo admits that his plan is only a face-saving device, preferable to complete repudiation. There is a simpler way, however, of saving the American face. If it is necessary to give ourselves some excuse for canceling the debts, we can reflect that our government received the surrender of Germany on terms which expressly excluded the payment of indemnities, and then failed to enforce these terms at Paris. In obtaining Germany's release from reparations by renouncing our claims against the Allies, we can reflect that we are saving not only our face, but our national honor.

ROBERT MORSS LOVETT.

"No-Popery" in America

The Shadow of the Pope, by Michael Williams. New York: Whittlesey House. 329 pages, illustrated. $3.

IN "THE SHADOW OF THE POPE," the editor of The Commonweal has written a competent account of the repeated rise and wane of anti-Catholicism in the American colonies and the United States, and has illustrated the story with reproductions of anti-Catholic posters and handbills—dispiriting documents to anyone who believes in the essential good sense of the American people. Mr. Williams is at pains to point out, in the course of his narrative, that complete objectivity can hardly be hoped for when religious matters are discussed, but the reader of the present volume will have little or no occasion to remember this fact. Throughout, the work is intelligent, earnest and tolerant, whether it treats of the Native American riots of the forties or the campaign of calumny against Governor Smith in 1928.

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earnest and tolerant. It is not, for example, incisive. Except in a very minor way it fails to take the measure of anti-Catholicism in a most significant aspect—that is, as an extra-economic, extra-social weapon available to a large cross-stratum of our population, which positively or negatively can be employed for economic or social gain.

A simple, common instance: masses of foreigners are welcomed to America because they will run wages down and themselves will work for the lowest wages; but when they become familiar with the new environment and are less easy to bargain with, they are stigmatized as being Catholic, alien, low, corrupt, inferior, and so on, and any worsening of conditions of whatever sort is blamed upon them; thus, the whole body of newcomers is placed at a disadvantage economically and socially, to the corresponding gain of the natives, and particularly of the upper-class natives, who benefit through both the lowered wage cost and the diversion of native mass resentment to the interlopers—not to mention the joy which comes of snubbing those of the newcomers who presently emerge from the working-class stratum with a rosary in one hand and a paving contract in the other. Or it may be a contract for laying pipe-line, as in my own family's case; but at all events the rosary will be the excuse for regarding the newcomer as socially unfit. Mr. Williams, however, touches but desultorily on this phase of the question, which must stand out as the most fruitful phase to anyone who is culturally in hitch with our time. On occasion he notes that anti-Catholicism serves as an instrument for individual graft, but the far more important fact of its appeal to group greed is revealed to him only fitfully. As a liberal Catholic intellectual, Mr. Williams is engrossed in the struggle of "principles"; and save for part of the subject matter, his book could as well have been written forty years ago.

MURRAY GODWIN.

Thermo- Versus Theo-Dynamics

Science and Human Experience, by Herbert Dingle. New York: The Macmillan Company. 141 pages. $1.75.

The Mysterious Universe, by Sir James Jeans (revised edition). New York: The Macmillan Company. 192 pages. $1.

DR. HERBERT DINGLE is an English astronomer whose skeptical propensities have earned for him the epithet of "rebel" from no less an authority than his esteemed teacher and colleague, Sir Arthur Eddington. In "Science and Human Experience," Dr. Dingle seeks an escape from the confusion of tongues which has befallen so much recent scientific speculation. Convinced that this may be accomplished only through "the establishment of clear distinctions between the scientific and non-scientific fields . . . and an understanding of the relation between them," the "rebel"—with the help of Occam's razor—tries to prune away fungus growth from the tree of knowledge, and to lay bare what is vital within and behind the luxuriant orchid-screen of metaphysics. It is a notable ambition, perhaps never to be fully realized (light being ever less desirable to the human mind than warmth), but it will commend itself, in this instance, to many who are weary of having their "science" administered in thick emulsions of "indeterminacy," "organicism" and the like, and of hearing Entropy [illegible]

what may now be called the Second Law of Theodynamics.

The basis of Dr. Dingle's clarification suggests comparison with the distinction between the "public" and "private" worlds as made by Lancelot Hogben in his "Nature of Living Matter." Like the "skeptical biologist" (appropriating the term less correctly applied to himself by Joseph Needham) the astronomer regards all human experience as being either "common" or "individual," or a blend of the two. And he defines Science as "the recording, augmentation and rational correlation of those elements of our experience which are actually or potentially common to all normal people." The definition, as it stands, is woefully susceptible to logical attack: first, through the use of so indeterminate a word as "normal"; second, through the ambiguous phrase, "actually or potentially common." Criticism will promptly inquire whether the purely *individual* experiences of art or religion are not "potentially common," and ironically point out that it was once dreadfully "normal" to regard the earth as flat.

Such "normal" objections, however, are considered by Dr. Dingle, who is at pains to refine the verbal crudities of his statement by concrete examples drawn from the history of physical science, from art, criticism and religion. The skillfully elaborated argument, by showing how "knowledge" increases in dependability through elimination of the unique and the personal, makes it clear that by "common" is meant only those experiences, or aspects of experience, which are not affected by what the mathematician would call the "independent variables" of human temperament. Abstraction, correlation and hypothesis; measurement, induction and verification—all the powerful instruments whose development Dr. Dingle traces from Copernicus and Galileo, through Newton to Planck and Einstein—are justified only by the perfect neutrality with which they can operate on the data of experience. At the least sign of personal bias, of illicit simplification, of what Morris Cohen calls "crypto-rationalism," the instruments register the presence of errors which, if not honorably eliminated, soon lure the mind away from the scientist's Gates of Horn to the visionary's Gates of Ivory.

Accordingly we find Dr. Dingle, in three final chapters of unusual lucidity and charm, exempting from adequate scientific treatment the deeply personal, ever varying experiences of art and religion. The critic of esthetic values, he maintains (following the lead of I. A. Richards), can legitimately do no more than establish a "generality of relation-types" between the subject and the work of art; and as for the experience of God, "there is no Religion," he says, "there are only religions." In these immense domains the individual is sovereign: but his responsibility must include a refusal to exploit for his personal beliefs the rigorously impersonal technique and methods of science.

Thus, when Sir Arthur Eddington—with only half a scientist's eye upon his equations—celebrates "the decline of determinism," Dr. Dingle is entitled to suggest that this may be a conclusion more implicit in the mind than explicit in Nature: caprice is a word for some links in a chain whose other links escape our notice. And when Sir James Jeans, struggling to keep afloat "in the Deep Waters" of our ignorance, salutes "the Great Architect of the Universe" as a "pure Mathematician," again the rebel demurs: as philosophy the expression is very appealing, especially to terrene mathematicians—but what a mad Architect, whose plans "abhor accuracy and precision in all things"!

True, in the present revised [illegible]

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The New Republic in October, 1930) Jeans now speaks somewhat apologetically of his "crudely anthropomorphic language": into which, nevertheless, he frankly "lapses," in order to support his own form of Berkeleian idealism. As before—but with many factual additions and improvements—he takes us on a fascinating journey through "the new world of modern physics," transforming abstractions into imagery and the colorless formulae of relativity, radiation and quantum theory into superb expository writing. We absorb knowledge from our brilliant and suave guide easily—too easily, perhaps: for he himself warns us that the "reality" we seem to find one moment in his words, in the next flows like mist through the coarse net of our symbols. Thus, we are led again to the celebrated conclusion that "the universe shows evidence of a designing or controlling power that has something in common with our individual minds."

"Something in common"—eternal dream alike of the mystic, the philosopher and the scientist, yet how profoundly dissimilar in purpose and value! Those who seek for personal meanings in all their experiences will find their scientific accounts beautifully balanced in the pages of such men as Jeans, Eddington, Whitehead, Haldane and Needham; others, willing from time to time to forgo the luxury of illusion, may agree with Dr. Dingle that "to look for esthetic or moral values as possible discoveries of Science . . . is to reveal a misapprehension of the very nature of Science."

HAROLD WARD.

Waldo Frank's "City Block"

City Block, by Waldo Frank. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. $2.50.

THE FOURTEEN interrelated stories that comprise "City Block" were written during the period 1915-1922 and were dedicated to Alfred Stieglitz. These two facts quite definitely place the book. It belongs to the decade which preceded the "jazz age" of the twenties, that decade of burgeoning and promise, of self-discovery and self-expression, whose beginning may be identified roughly with the founding of Poetry in 1912 and whose history may be traced in a succession of magazines—The New Republic, Soil, The Seven Arts, The Masses, Others, The Little Review—a period whose esthetic John the Baptist was Stieglitz, whose book of revelation was written by Mr. Frank himself in "Our America" and whose death was the War.

It is not mere coincidence that from our present point of vantage some of the stories in "City Block" seem to resemble stories in Sherwood Anderson's "Winesburg, Ohio," however much the two books may differ in execution. There were others working in the same direction as well. America was being discovered. America was being given a brand-new soul unwrapped, as yet, in cellophane. After all, there are moments when twilight and dawn look astonishingly alike.

It is this sense of spiritual adventure that still distinguishes "City Block." Mr. Frank might have echoed the ardent desire of William Carlos Williams in "Al Que Quiere" to "fathom the guts of shadows." His purpose was not to reveal the bare surface play of fact that characterized the conventional American story of the time, but rather to reveal inner truths instead. It was not to portray char- [illegible] to root [illegible] a book composed of realistic stories. It is a metaphysical pageant in which various masks portray life, death, love, hate, frustration, pity—a pageant in which the actors go through a series of hieratic gestures signifying desire, giving, fear, remorse and the like.

It may be doubted, however, if the "truths" of the human soul, any more than other truths, can so readily be charted in simple straight lines. Other God-seekers through fiction—Dostoevsky for notable instance—have seen the soul rather as a maze of contradictions wherein all the gradations between the highest good and the most obnoxious evil are inextricably interwoven, and have seen unity only as chaos held perilously in leash. Dostoevsky sought to reach God through the welter of man. Mr. Frank too often begins with the unity of the idea and invents complexities to flesh his conceptions.

More important than the faults of the book, which are easy to exaggerate, is the fact that parts of it hold their place among the freshest and most profound of American stories. It is to be hoped that this first appearance of "City Block" in a popular edition, after its translation into French, Russian, German and Spanish, is a harbinger of the author's early return into the ranks of our novelists.

EDWIN SEAVER.

Russia: Present and Past

Russia, by Hans von Eckardt. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 711 pages. $7.50.

THOSE who wish to understand the immediate events and future possibilities of Russia will find the background of the past as well as the forces of the present depicted ably and deeply in Hans von Eckardt's colossal book. Starting with the foundation of the Norse-Russian state in the year 862 and ending with the second year of the Five Year Plan in 1931, Dr. von Eckardt has developed a wealth of material facts and a breadth of philosophical deduction which make his book more valuable to the student of Russia than any other treatise existing in English. The chief limitation of his work is his profound belief in the civilizing factor of German *Kultur:* at times he tends to stress unduly the undeniably great part played by Germans in the development of Russian economy and Russian culture; but this national idiosyncrasy does not interfere importantly with his critical acumen and his immense practical scholarship.

One of Dr. von Eckardt's main theses is that "Russia has in all essentials remained very much the same." It was the Mongol invasion that made "the Russian character capable of that blind submissiveness which has been such a prominent feature of Russian life ever since." The rulers of Moscow resented the competition of the great city states of the north founded and developed by the Varangian and Hanseatic warriors and merchants, and in destroying them destroyed their power to resist the Mongolian despotism, so that ever since Russia has been torn between desire for Western development and internal oriental seclusion. The only alternative to accepting Western civilization was to proclaim a new mission, something which the Russia of our own time has finally succeeded in doing. But, in order to strengthen itself internally, Moscow had from early times to import foreign technical aid, just as it must import American engineers today.

During the early years of the nineteenth century, Russians began to go abroad to study and to observe a Europe

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back with them romantic yearnings for a revolution against their own semi-oriental despotism. To combat these activities of the intelligentsia and the people, the Tsars built up a tyrannical, pedantic bureaucracy. At the same time there developed in Russia a large class contemptuous of all the middle-class respectability of Western civilization and the spiritual trammels it imposes. There also developed a Russian bourgeoisie, the material power and spiritual weakness of which inspired the intelligentsia, the proletariat and parts of the peasantry with hatred and contempt. The government was the policeman of the hated combination between the aristocrats and the capitalists. In the last years of the nineteenth century the struggle turned from one against the despotism of the Tsars to one against the capitalist despotism backed by the Tsars. The masses remained inert; and it took the Russo-Japanese War to awaken them to their position. The revolutionists, however, were still fighting furiously among themselves for clarity, and economic conditions were not sufficiently disorganized to make the revolution of 1905 successful. The World War, with its revelation of Russian inefficiency, accomplished the necessary decay, and the revolution of 1917 became a natural phenomenon.

"Russian life was not yet sufficiently cast in a political mold to respond to a Kerensky's expectations," Dr. von Eckardt writes, "and its intellectual equipment was too primitive." This statement is more typical of the professors of the emigration than it is of Dr. von Eckardt at his best. It was, perhaps, the other way around: Kerensky's intellectual equipment, for which the author himself has very little respect, does not seem to have been powerful enough to grasp the primitive needs of the Russian people. Democratic dogmas and republican theories were as nothing to the imperative demands of Peace, Bread and Land. Lenin understood these necessities; he had the courage to advocate the measures to satisfy them, and the acumen to take advantage of them politically.

During the first few years following the Bolshevik revolution the leaders of the Soviet State were too busy consolidating their control and fighting the internal and external enemies of the revolution to be able to fight among themselves on general principles. When an enemy was at every gate, dissension in the party of power was both dangerous and foolish, and necessity led to a habit of thought and action both dangerous and foolish, but still powerful. This period of party unity ended temporarily with the death of Lenin. Today the quarrels continue, though with less vigor, partly because Russia is too busy trying to put over the Five Year Plan to question its validity, and partly because those who have dared to question in the immediate past are vivid examples of hardship to those who might wish to do so in the present.

The Communists have taken the impulse for collective life which they found inherent in Russian history—exemplified, for instance, by the *artels* of the laborers and the *mir* of the peasants, the revolutionary and literary circles of the intellectuals and the "cells" of the party members, the group esthetics of the Russian ballet, the Moscow Art Theatre and the Russian Choir—and have infused into them by force and by persuasion a necessity for common action and common living. They have made a philosophy and a religion for these disconnected group movements, and in the process have, perhaps, destroyed much of great value to themselves, which might be developed by a less rigid guidance of individual talents. But they have gained in an ideal what they have lost in flexibility. Whether the end is worthy of the means, which Dr. von Eckardt so skillfully portrays, remains to be seen.

History of Russia: From the Earliest Times to the Rise of Commercial Capitalism, by M. N. Pokrovsky. Translated and edited by J. D. Clarkson and M. R. M. Griffiths. New York: International Publishers. 399 pages. $3.50.

WE LEARN from the editors' preface that Professor Pokrovsky's "History of Russia" is published in four volumes in the original; in the English translation these have been condensed into two volumes. The first volume, reaching to 1730, is now before us; the second is to bring the story down to the establishment of the Soviet regime. The English edition has been prepared in close collaboration with the author, no abridgments or alterations having been made without his consent. He has also provided the English edition with a special preface in which he gives a most interesting, but all-too-brief sketch of the development of Russian historiography. Even in its English dress, the book assumes some elementary knowledge of Russian political history on the part of the reader; for this is really not history in the ordinary sense, but rather, as it were, the special Russian chapter in a general sociology.

The general outlook and method of investigation are Marxist throughout. The medieval Russian State was not the creation of the princes, but of the social classes and their conflicts: landlords, great and small, lay and clerical, merchants, peasants. The relations of these classes, their alliances and conflicts, are determined in each epoch by the specific economic conditions, so that any important change in the latter results in a corresponding change in the former. The class relations, in their turn, determine the political changes, from the days of Kievan Rus down to Peter the Great. Considering the scantiness of the material down to the seventeenth century, the task of writing such a history was not easy; neither is the book light reading, but it is well worth the pains. The translation appears to be generally very well done, but there is too great a profusion of Russian terms in the text. To the reader without any knowledge of Russian, these present a real obstacle, even though the editors have tried to surmount it by means of explanatory notes and a very useful glossary.

HERMAN SIMPSON.

A History of Russia, Vol. V, by V. O. Kluchevsky. Translated by C. J. Hogarth. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 347 pages. $5.

KLUCHEVSKY did not live long enough to carry out his vast undertaking. This final volume is a somewhat roughly finished study of the reign of Catherine the Great. It includes, in a supplement, four chapters omitted from the first volume of the translation; they were intended as a general introduction to the work, but they serve here equally well as epilogue. Another appendix, a "Survey of the Principal Phenomena of Russian History from the Time of Peter the Great," provides in outline what would have been the remainder of the work had the author been granted the health and good fortune of the many octogenarians who might well have been spared in his place.

In the four chapters of his misplaced introduction, we are permitted to see the clash between his scheme and the innate literary gifts of the author, a conflict which made the work so laborious to him and begot the confusions which are its defects. Kluchevsky conceived the historian as a scientist, specifically as a sociologist, rather than as a writer. Time has made its customary revision. Although many of his "scientific" conclusions have been disproved by later researches, his history is already assuming a place among

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His plan to produce, alongside its geologies, geographies, botanies and biologies, a sociology of the Russian land, studied in its historical process through explorable time, led him to give consideration to the Russian masses as a factor in Russian history, a step that was then original and revolutionary in the career of Russian historiography. So devotedly objective was his treatment that his work attained the curious distinction of receiving in turn the patronage of Tsars and Soviets. But his sociological ambition was beyond his reach. It brought him frequently into tangles of social, economic and administrative processes which snarl the reader as they did the author. The real virtues of Kluchevsky's history are literary. His narratives are rhythmic and fluent; his biographies of historical characters are subtle, rapid, and are illuminated by flashing sentences that are like the involuntarily confessing glances by which men reveal themselves. His capacity to summarize a situation is remarkable, making a vast historical area as concrete and perceptible as a relief map in clay. But above these successes is the sense of an intimate contact with past ages and men which pervades the book. It was said of him that he lived in the past, this sedentary scholar whom his contemporaries never dissociated from his classroom and his study. The evidence of how true and complimentary was this description exists in every chapter of his book. Living in the past, he is able to make us live in the past. We feel here that reality, within its own nature and its own limits, that we meet only in the finest works of imagination—and in the finest works of history.

How strong are these literary gifts of Kluchevsky is evidenced in the fact that they survive a thoroughly incompetent translation. Mr. Avram Yarmolinsky pointed out four years ago the many errors in the first four volumes. The interval has not improved the translator's knowledge or scruples. The second word of the present volume is a mistranslation of the word "June," which appears here as "Junker."

ISIDOR SCHNEIDER.

Book Notes

BELLES LETTRES

THE EMOTIONAL DISCOVERY OF AMERICA, and Other Essays, by Stuart P. Sherman. *New York: Farrar and Rinehart. 276 pages. $2.50.*

Of Sherman's posthumously published works, this volume of fugitive essays is least likely to enhance his reputation, which seems to be distinctly on the wane. There are nineteen papers, inevitably a random collection that all too pitifully reveals the instability of Sherman's judgment, and betrays the fact that his intellectual curiosity was largely love of excitement and his "humanism" a mediation between straw extremes. The saddest story in the book is "Carlyle and Kaiser Worship"—a protest, in September, 1918, against the burning of German literature when the forty volumes of Kaiserism by Carlyle were undermining democracy in the hearts of American youth: the babies had been killed in Belgium, and the wives marched out to see their fathers shot, lined up, of course, against a wall. The best essay is that which gives the book its title, but even here the fundamental shallowness of Sherman's mind betrays itself: although, as he truly says, the conquest of the continent pushed aside those men who had it in them to love the land, he ignores a moment in our history when the land was profoundly loved, in the Southern states, and he sentimentally identifies the modern literature to which he was a late convert, with the discovery of the land. Nor is this all: in a brilliant paper "Wandering Between Two Eras," posed discovery of the land will be developed by Economic Units. There are five years separating these two essays, and the self-contradiction would be trivial were it supported, in his writings as whole, by a philosophical point of view.

OVID'S FASTI, with an English translation, introduction, notes and an appendix, by Sir James H. Frazer. *Loeb Classical Library. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 461 pages. $2.50.*

One trouble with having Sir James Frazer edit books for the Loeb Library series is that he knows too much. His two-volume edition of Apollodorus, including an appendix of nearly 150 closely printed pages, imposed considerable strain on the limits of the series as planned; Sir James was found extending apologies both to his readers for its brevity and to the editors for its length. His work on the "Fasti" of Ovid, originally intended for the series, overflowed, as he admitted, even the liberal limits which the editors had allowed for Apollodorus; the material, therefore, was published in 1929 under other auspices—a five-volume edition including over 1,000 pages of exhaustive critical commentary—with the stipulation that the text and translation at least, after a sufficient interval, were to be issued as a volume of the Loeb Library. That interval having elapsed, we now have the "Fasti" in an abridged edition of the former work. The editor has added a brief biography of Ovid, and Dr. W. H. D. Rouse, one of the general editors of the series, has selected and abridged from the earlier commentary the pages which are printed as an appendix to the present volume. Frazer's anthropological researches have induced in him a sort of literary claustrophobia; the reader who seeks him at his best will do well to consult the larger edition, where the author is not so cramped or ill at ease: nevertheless, the present volume, in addition to being relatively inexpensive, is useful and entertaining.

BIOGRAPHY

JOHN CALVIN: the Man and His Ethics, by Georgia Harkness. *New York: Henry Holt and Company. 266 pages. $3.*

John Calvin, whose influence on American thought still remains so great and whose political conceptions are of more than mere historical importance, is studied exhaustively in this biography and history. The author handles particularly well the famous Michael Servetus case. Her presentation of the main tenets of the Calvinistic ethic, with its political and social implications, forms a valuable supplement to other more specialized studies of Calvin's thought.

MEMOIRS OF A DIPLOMAT, by Constantin Dumba. *Translated by Jan. F. D. Morrow. Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 347 pages. $4.*

Only by an act of uncritical violence could these memoirs be represented as other than the *vin ordinaire* of their literary class. None the less, they have an air of kindliness and honesty about them which is encouragingly undiplomatic and, in the ample American section, they add a valuable touch to other pictures of Washington in the period 1913-15, when the author served as Austro-Hungarian Ambassador to the United States. His judgment on President Wilson and such leading figures as Bryan and House is straightforward, shrewd and completely uninfluenced by the unequal treatment which, in the period of our official neutrality, our government, press and public meted out to the Central Powers as compared with the Allies. Nor does he conceal the monumental ineptitudes to which he and his friends of the German embassy resorted in the hope of redressing the balance.

MENTAL HEALERS: Franz Anton Mesmer, Mary Baker Eddy and Sigmund Freud, by Stefan Zweig. *Translated by Eden and Cedar Paul. New York: The Viking Press. 363 pages. $3.50.*

If the Austrian Doctor Mesmer in the eighteenth century had not believed in the power of magnetic cures and led others accidentally to a study of hypnosis, the American Quimby would probably have been unable to tutor Mary Baker Eddy—who is more remarkable, less comical and considerably more important

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sets up no such rigid diagram of the important contributions made by these two men and one woman to our understanding of the relation between physical and psychical disturbances; but nevertheless such a historical diagram exists, stemming from the parent Mesmer separately to the doctrine of Christian Science and the fruitful method of psychoanalysis. The most important essay in Zweig's very orderly and sane account of the three mental healers concerns Mesmer, simply because Mesmer is so totally neglected. The essay on Mary Baker Eddy contains no new information, but Zweig captures the small residue of meaning in her doctrine from out its surrounding claptrap. In the case of Freud, the author deals only with his importance, including a brief statement of method and doctrine; he does not try to say, rightly, the final word on the specific truth of certain cardinal points held by the great Viennese.

History

THE AMERICAN WAR OF INDEPENDENCE, by Lieutenant-Colonel F. E. Whitton. *New York: Dodd, Mead and Company. 375 pages. $5.*

This is an account of the War of Independence from the British point of view. That is to say, the war is treated not merely as a conflict between Great Britain and her revolted colonies, but as a struggle of *Britannia contra mundum.* Against her were the American colonies, France, Spain and Holland; while in the distance loomed the threat of the armed neutrality which had been adopted by Russia, Prussia, Sweden, Denmark and other European states as a counterpoise to British power and arbitrariness on the seas. But, though the author's point of view is British, he has no discernible British bias. A number of good maps of the American battlefields add to the value of the book.

THE BIRTH OF THE GERMAN REPUBLIC, 1871-1918, by Arthur Rosenberg. *Translated by Ian F. D. Morrow. New York: Oxford University Press. 296 pages. $4.75.*

This excellent book can be commended unreservedly as a most lucid, informative and impartial study of German internal politics during the World War. Its title does not clearly indicate its contents. Since the narrative comes to a close with November 10, 1918, when a general meeting of the Berlin Workers' and Soldiers' Councils elected the new republican government, it is clear that we are offered a history, not of the birth throes of the German republic, but of the death agony of the German empire. The latter is described with considerable detail, for the decline of the imperial autocracy began virtually from the day war was declared, when the decisions of the General Staff became the supreme law; while in the last two years it was completely supplanted by the dictatorship of Ludendorff. But it was not only the Kaiser who willy-nilly lost his power during the War; the German people, too, through their chosen representatives in the Reichstag and their party leaders, willingly surrendered what little measure they had of political power. By means of the *Burgfrieden,* or political truce (literally: peace of the castles, feudal peace), the German political leaders bound themselves hand and foot and delivered the German people as a sacrifice to the military junta.

Dr. Rosenberg traces the course of German internal politics under Bismarck and William II and down to the collapse, but in this brief note it is impossible even to indicate the scope and keenness of his analysis. The vastness of the change that has come over German political thought since the fall of the monarchy is indicated by the fact that this professor at the University of Berlin regards as the two foremost statesmen of modern Germany Bismarck and—Frederick Engels, the lifelong friend of Karl Marx and his literary executor!

GERMANY NOT GUILTY IN 1914: Examining a Much Prized Book, by M. H. Cochran. *Foreword by H. E. Barnes. Boston: The Stratford Company. 233 pages. $2.*

In this little book of 233 pages, Professor Cochran attempts to pulverize Professor Bernadotte Schmitt's "Coming of the War, [illegible] is the most interesting thing in the world, results in making to him. All that remains to be done is to arrange that his volume come under the eyes of all those who have read Professor Schmitt's work. That a professor of history should publish a book exclusively devoted to assaulting the work of a living colleague is a remarkable thing in this country. Let us hope that others follow Cochran's example and that an all around "clean up" of American historiography results. Cochran writes of Schmitt's book: "It is unsound and its doctrines are unproved. It is full of errors of the most serious kind on racial, military and diplomatic matters. It is the most misleading book on the subject that has yet appeared." This blanket indictment is supported by pages which seek to demonstrate mistranslations, garbling of texts, gerrymandering of texts to support prejudice, usage of dubious sources, of sources whose validity has been shaken by competent critics, of sources of a secondary and tertiary nature at crucial points where only first-hand matter should be admitted, of demonstrable bias in favor of the Entente, especially England and Sir Edward Grey, etc., etc. Especially effective is Cochran's discussion of Schmitt's attempt to convict Germany of sole responsibility for precipitating the War by ignoring the crucial importance of the Russian general-mobilization order.

Public (and Private) Questions

GETTING A DIVORCE, by Isabel Drummond. *New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 544 pages. $5.*

This handbook of divorce procedure for those who foot the bills seems reasonably complete. It is divided into two main sections, the second of which contains tabulations of causes and notes on procedure for all the states in the Union, and also for certain foreign countries which are popular unhitching places for those who chafe at double harness. An index is included. The first section begins with a "history" of divorce law and marriage, a history in which mere abstract terms seem to play a part quite as potent as that of material forces. Light, however, begins to break when the author gets down to discussing cases and decisions, and thereafter the section is passably entertaining. Grounds, jurisdiction, alimony and other aspects of divorce are taken up, with many curious illustrations from actual court records, which are prodigally rich in the pantaloonery and confusion of domestic wrangling.

HIGH AND LOW FINANCIERS: Some Notorious Swindlers and Their Abuses of Our Modern Stock Selling System, by Watson Washburn and Edmund S. DeLong. *Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company. 315 pages. $2.50.*

Written in the manner of a series of feature stories, this volume is excellently fitted to serve the serious purpose of an elementary guide for inexperienced investors. Both authors, the first as a prosecutor and the second as an investigator, were in the Bureau of Securities, part of the office of the Attorney General of New York, in 1929 and 1930, and may be presumed to know what they are talking about. Besides the stories of brilliant individual swindlers, such as Harold Ryder and Charles Bob, the book contains descriptions of general methods of fraud, and concludes with a chapter of proposed remedies for fraudulent stock dealings. None of the proposals, of course, is fundamental.

Science

NONSUCH, LAND OF WATER, by William Beebe. *New York: Brewer, Warren and Putnam. 274 pages, illustrated. $3.50.*

For the past several years, Mr. Beebe has been conducting studies in marine and shore life, using a tiny islet, one of the smallest of the habitable Bermudas, as his base. This volume, which may be considered his report to the public, is to be followed by more substantial work addressed to his fellow scientists. Mr. Beebe writes here with steady but self-conscious gracefulness. The chapters originally were magazine articles and have the defects of that genre. Put together in a book, they not only lack unity, but tend to obliterate one another. The artificial, magazine-article necessity of forcing the reader to believe that the subject

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"The Power Fight," by Stephen Raushenbush, just published, is a complete and authoritative story of the conflict; it is packed with unassailable data; it names names and cites figures; it is quick-moving, epigrammatic, exciting; however occupied with specific information, it drives always toward an understanding of underlying social principles and ideas; it is a timely and magnificent book.

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Eleven groups of financial interests control over 89 percent of the installed capacity of the power industry; three of these groups control 59 percent of the industry. The pressure which these groups exert for the purpose of strengthening their power and extending their profits is colossal and unscrupulously applied. Mr. Raushenbush estimates that American consumers pay one million dollars a day more than they need to for the electricity they use.

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THE WISDOM OF THE BODY, by Walter B. Cannon. *New York: W. W. Norton and Company. 312 pages. $3.50.*

Surrounded by dangers, disease and the chances of sudden death; subject to countless enemies from within and without—how does that fragile organism, the human body, manage not only to survive, but in many cases to transform the very instruments of its defeat into sources of fresh triumph over its environment? Dr. Walter B. Cannon, one of America's finest physiologists, attempts in this important volume a partial answer to this question. He has invented the useful term *homeostasis* to describe the remarkable powers of the human body to maintain "the fundamental condition of stability" in all its processes, and he exhibits these powers at work in ome of the most vital functions of the organism. Of foremost significance is the blood stream: how the heart performs its unending labor and the ways in which the blood itself maintains a constancy of sugars, proteins, fats, calcium and oxygen. Respiration, digestion, glandular secretions; the perpetual give-and-take of fatigue and repair; delicate adjustment mechanisms and defenses against hostile conditions: everywhere *homeostasis* is on the job—until some decisive event fatally disturbs the balance. In a final chapter on "Biological and Social Homeostasis," Dr. Cannon attempts some interesting parallels between all this "wisdom of the body" and the still fearfully inadequate wisdom of society.

Travel

ARABIA FELIX: Across the "Empty Quarter" of Arabia, by Bertram Thomas. *With a foreword by Colonel T. E. Lawrence. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 426 pages, illustrated. $5.*

The Rub al Khali (the literal translation is "the empty quarter") was the last great unexplored area in the world. Journeying from a point on the coast fronting the Arabian Sea, Mr. Thomas trekked across the most barren stretches of the Arabian Desert to a point on the Persian Gulf—a feat never performed by any other European, and probably never equaled by any anonymous and unsung native explorer. Mr. Thomas traveled by relays of escorts from tribes along the way. Under the most trying conditions (Mr. Thomas lost forty pounds on the journey) he carried on scientific observation, adding what is believed to be a new species to biology and collecting enough data for Sir Arthur Keith, in a special appendix, to propose important modifications in the theories now held of the racial identity of the South Arabian peoples. The expedition, which was conducted practically single-handed in respect to organization and leadership, is a remarkable tribute to the explorer; but even his qualities might not have sufficed to achieve success had not the remarkable Ibn Saud brought an unwonted peace to an area formerly made even more forbidding by warring man than by Nature. Although not a literary masterpiece in the sense that Doughty's "Arabia Deserta" is, the story has dignity and force and may be counted among the finest books in the astonishingly meager literature of travel.

Verse

THINKING OF RUSSIA, by H. H. Lewis. *Holt, Minn.: B. C. Hagglund. 32 pages. $.25.*

Mr. Lewis despises the esthetes; the esthetes will disdain Mr. Lewis; and both, from their own point of view, are right. These poems, judged as absolute poetry, measured out in iambs and appraised for figures of speech, are no great shucks; but they do have freshness, vigor, forthright anger, and a humor very close to that black Missouri soil which this poet farmhand tills at the wage of $1 per day. If Mr. Lewis would set himself to the task of fitting new words to old tunes, he might become the red-starred laureate, the Joe Hill of the Communist movement.

THRUST AT THE SKY, by MacKnight Black. *New York: Simon and Schuster. 70 pages. $2.*

This second volume of verse by the author of "Machinery" had not been given the final revision at the time of his death on August 20, 1931; nor was the title poem finished. The editor, Marcus Goodrich, explains that a hundred lines remained to be written "filled with all the passion of despair and renunciation";

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Mr. Goodrich has included twelve poems "from a great mass of posthumous material," and these are among the best that Black wrote. This poet was the most extreme example of those writers who believed that they had found in modern technology not only a new field of metaphor, but a symbolism of intrinsic and even mystical significance. The baleful effect of this belief is clear in this writer, who was a poet of genuine talent. The complication of metaphor refers to no valid complication of idea or feeling, but is rather the fringe of a kind of energetic incoherence which sprawls with unrelieved intensity, in "Thrust at the Sky," from first to last. A succession of violent, constantly shifting metaphors that are not relevant to any inner clarity whatever wears out the attention. Black derived from "machinery" no comprehensive symbol or even "conceit" that he could sustain; his feeling for the machine was almost purely adjectival. For this reason his short pieces are his best. One may confidently recommend them to the attention of anthologists.

Fiction

FATHERS OF THEIR PEOPLE, by H. W. Freeman. *New York: Henry Holt and Company. $2.50.*

In the Suffolk countryside, from 1880 to 1914, the yeoman farmers went through the bad times that were a result of the great changes wrought by industrialization. The particular scene of this story is Pond Hall, of which Adam Brundish was the proprietor. In Adam's heart two ambitions took shape: he longed to add acreage to his land and to be acclaimed the father of his people. These things came to pass, while his lusty son Dick ripened to righteous strength. In a healthy, solid way are also related slow-burning country feuds, hedge-row amours, the quickening for the harvest.

HEAT LIGHTNING, by Helen Hull. *New York: Coward-McCann. $2.50.*

The pith of this book is the advice of a grandmother that "A lifetime's too short to find your way about another's heart." Accordingly, Amy, in her Midwestern home on a vacation from Geoffrey, her New York husband, gives him her heart and hand once more, armed with wisdom for a new beginning. Through the days of her visit she is an ironic observer of other wives, particularly of her own mother, who has the ability to meet her husband where he stands, not where she is herself. The family reaches the height of its catastrophes on the death of Madame Westover, the powerful old lady who held them all together. Released from her willful hand, they fall scattering apart. By a quiet piling-up of simple details like baths, ice-cold drinks, drawn shades, Helen Hull invests the larger things—death and hatred—with the electric disturbance of summer heat, and this achievement is the book's finest value. Amy's character and trouble are undefined; they are the least part, even though the preoccupation, of the story. The craftsmanship is skilled, in that, as each action is concluded, suspense remains like an arrow, a road sign, pointing one forward. Miss Hull lacks, however, a depth to match her skill.

NOVEMBER, by Gustave Flaubert. *Translated by Frank Jellinek. Introduction by John Cowper Powys. New York: The Roman Press. $3.*

As Flaubert's first novel, "November" has an importance which it would not otherwise have. For, in spite of the unusual and beautifully told story of Marie, with whom the hero has his first love affair, the novel is so soaked in the ennui of the Romantic era, so permeated with the wish to be any other where, that it grows wearisome; and its content seems only a pleasant reflection of the style of the period. It would be easy to say that it foreshadows the later powers of the author of "Madame Bovary" and "The Simple Heart," but it doesn't. The translation is distinguished.

A STREET IN MOSCOW, by Ilya Ehrenbourg. *Translated by Sonia Volochova. New York: Covici-Friede. $2.50.*

This novel is interesting for Americans in the same sense that the novels of Sinclair Lewis, Upton Sinclair, Theodore Dreiser and John Dos Passos are interesting for the Russians. It gives us an impression of the way some people live in Moscow under

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the Soviet regime, through the eyes of one who is critically antagonistic to many features of communism. Like many American writers, Ilya Ehrenbourg is at the same time healthily cynical and unhealthily sentimental. His characters and circumstances form a mere sketch of things more significant than a sketch of them can possibly be. Protochny Street "is a quagmire where thrive gypsy romances, cockroaches and our famous national malady, hypochondria." Ehrenbourg has something of the same point of view and, at his best, something of the same wit as the American poet, E. E. Cummings. "Life, my young friend," one of Ehrenbourg's characters exclaims, "consists only of exceptions." Such a man could never be happy or popular in Soviet Russia, and such a man is valuable for Soviet Russia.

Contributors

CLAUDE E. ROBINSON has been making a comprehensive study of the straw vote, at Columbia University, under the auspices of the University's Council for Research in the Social Sciences. The study has been directed by Professor Robert E. Chaddock of the faculty of Political Science.

JOHN MAYNARD KEYNES, the British economist, who has held a number of executive and advisory positions in the British government, is the author of several volumes on financial and economic subjects, the two most recent being "Treatise on Money" and "Essays in Persuasion," which was published in January of this year.

JOHN ANDERSEN, a member of that class of impoverished wheat farmers whose condition he vividly describes in the present issue, was forced last summer by the low price of wheat to plow under his crop and move to San Francisco, where he is at present living. He is a Dane by birth, having emigrated to this country at the age of fifteen.

MATTHEW JOSEPHSON, critic, biographer and Connecticut homesteader, is the author of a recently published life of Rousseau.

H. N. BRAILSFORD is the author of a long list of books on a variety of literary, social and political subjects, the most recent being "Rebel India," which was published in The New Republic Dollar Series. He contributes extensively to British and American periodicals.

GRANVILLE HICKS, an assistant professor of English at Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, is at present completing a study of the American novel since the Civil War.

JOHN DEWEY'S most recent book is "Philosophy and Civilization," which was published last fall by Minton, Balch.

MARTIN SCHUTZE, professor of German Literature at the University of Chicago, has published four volumes of verse, an edition of Goethe's poems and numerous essays on German philosophers and poets.

JOHN PEALE BISHOP, author of "Many Thousands Gone," a long short story, and "Green Fruit," a book of verse, is at present in Paris, where he has been living for the past few years.

MURRAY GODWIN, who has contributed to various political and literary magazines—Left, The New Freeman, Transition, etc., is at present free-lancing in New York City.

HAROLD WARD'S special interest is the history and philosophy of the sciences, and he has contributed articles on this subject to The New Freeman, The Nation and The New York Times.

EDWIN SEAVER, editor and founder of the magazine, "1924," and author of "The Company," a novel of white-collar workers, is at present living near Westport, Connecticut, and working on a new book.

M. R. WERNER biographer of Bryan, Barnum and Brigham Young, and unofficial historian of Tammany Hall, has also published the story of his experiences in a war hospital and the life story of a young Russian emigré.

ISIDOR SCHNEIDER, author of a volume of poetry and a novel, contributes extensively to various magazines and is at present working on his second novel.

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STATE OF NEW YORK } SS.
COUNTY OF NEW YORK }

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and County aforesaid, personally appeared Daniel Mebane, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Business Manager of The New Republic and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption required by the Act of August 21, 1912, embodied in section 411, Postal Law and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing director, and business manager, are:

Publisher, New Republic, Inc.
421 W. 21st St., New York, N. Y.
Editor, Bruce Bliven,
421 W. 21st St., New York, N. Y.
Managing Editor, Bruce Bliven,
421 W. 21st St., New York, N. Y.
Business Manager, Daniel Mebane,
421 W. 21st St., New York, N. Y.

2. That the owners are:

New Republic, Inc.,
421 W. 21st St., New York, N. Y.

Stockholders holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of stock:

Bruce Bliven,
421 W. 21st St., New York, N. Y.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities, are: None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stock holders, *and security holders, if any*, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company, but also, in cases where the stockholder and security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustees or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given: also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect, in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

DANIEL MEBANE,
Signature of Business Manager.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 24th day of March, 1932.

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